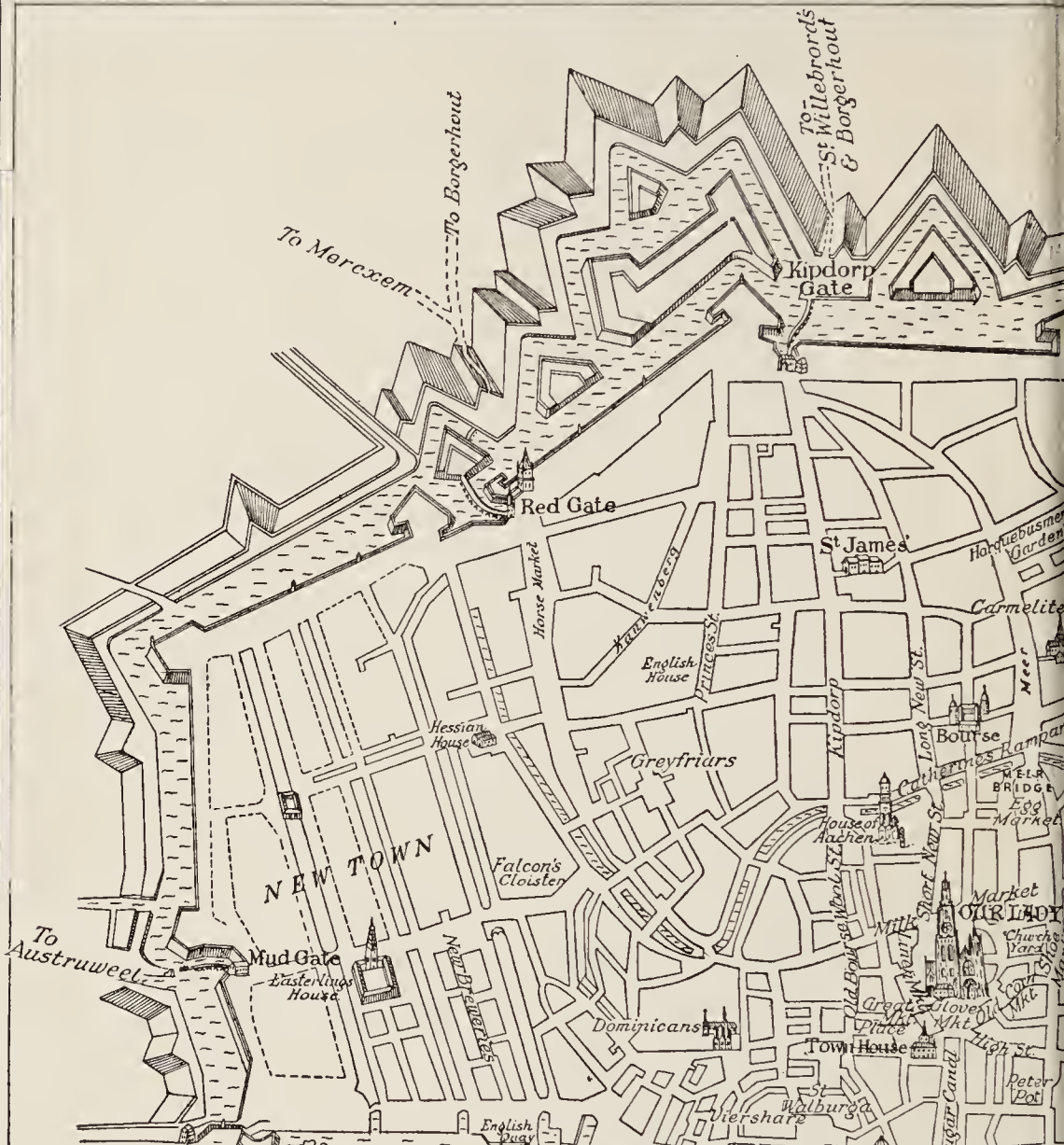


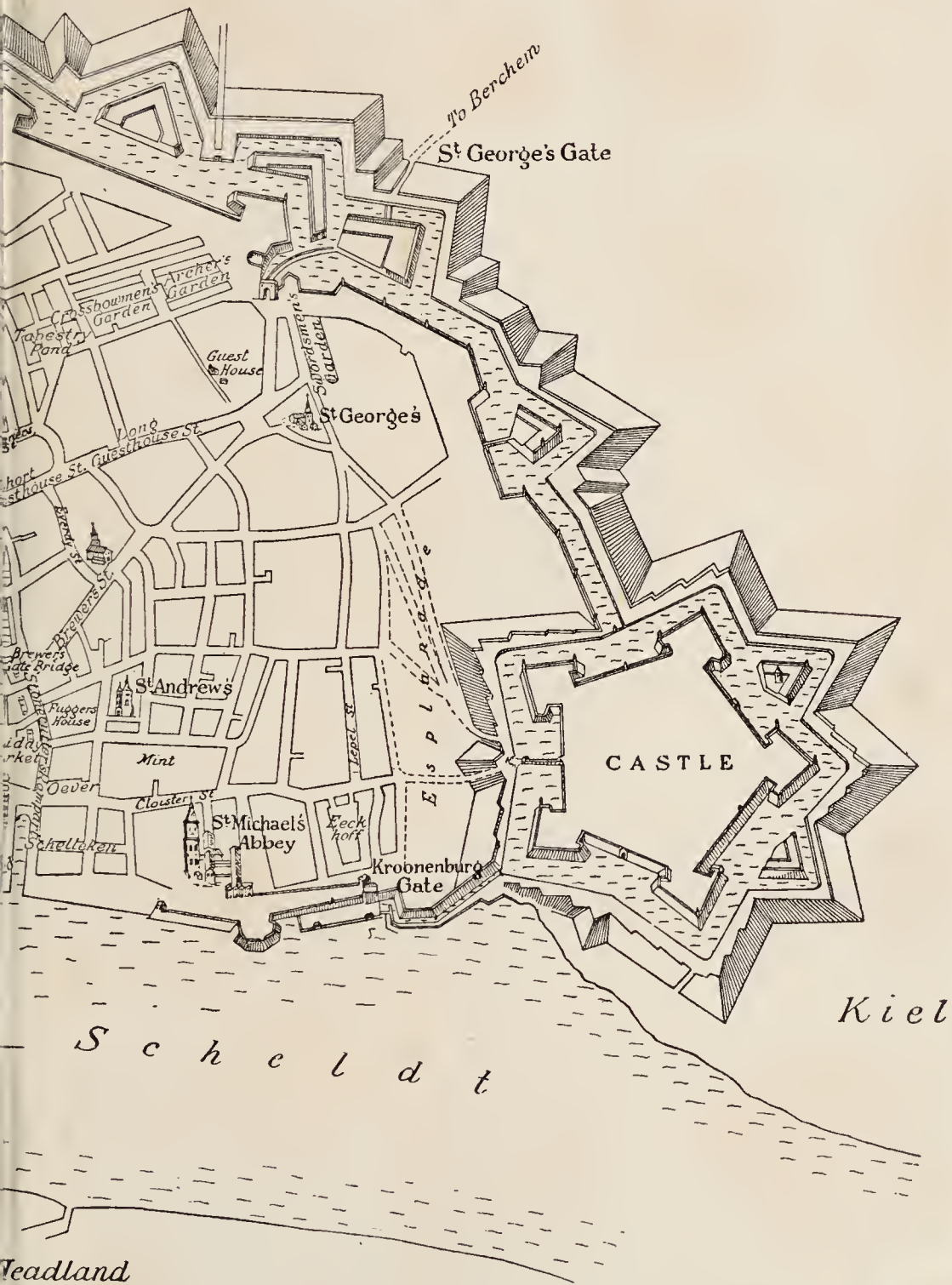
DECLINE OF ANIMALS
UNDER PHILIP OF SPAIN
BY FRANCIS WOOD



A Plan of
ANTWERP
under
PHILIP
with
ALVA'S CASTLE



Flemish



To Berchem

St George's Gate

Archer's Garden
Cassboumens Garden
Vand St.

Guest House
St George's
Vand St.
Guesthouse St.

St Andrew's
Mint
Lepel St.

St Michael's Abbey
Leek hof
Cloister St.

Kroonenburg Gate

CASTLE

Kiel

Scheldt


Teadland

NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE



THOMAS J. BATA LIBRARY
TRENT UNIVERSITY

**THE DECLINE OF ANTWERP
UNDER PHILIP OF SPAIN**



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation



PORTRAIT OF PHILIP OF SPAIN
PAINTED BY TITIAN, NOW IN THE PRADO, MADRID

THE
DECLINE OF ANTWERP
UNDER PHILIP OF SPAIN

BY
JERVIS WEGG
AUTHOR OF "ANTWERP 1477-1559"

WITH TWELVE ILLUSTRATIONS AND TWO PLANS

METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.G.
LONDON

DH 211 . A6624

First Published in 1924

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
AUTHORITIES	ix
ABBREVIATIONS, ETC., IN THE FOOTNOTES	xv

CHAPTER I

THE TREATY OF CÂTEAU CAMBRÉ SIS	I
---	---

CHAPTER II

TROUBLE BREWING	28
---------------------------	----

CHAPTER III

THE IMAGE-BREAKERS	53
------------------------------	----

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST ARMED RISING	86
----------------------------------	----

CHAPTER V

ALVA	119
----------------	-----

CHAPTER VI

ALVA'S FAILURE	142
--------------------------	-----

295377

CHAPTER VII

REQUESENS	169
---------------------	-----

CHAPTER VIII

	PAGE
THE SPANISH FURY	189

CHAPTER IX

THE RETURN OF ORANGE	207
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER X

THE ARCHDUKE MATTHIAS	223
---------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI

THE DUKE OF ANJOU	250
-----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XII

THE BLOCKADE	274
------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIII

AFTER THE BLOCKADE	311
------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIV

A SHORT NOTE ON THE ARTISTS, PRINTERS, AND SCHOLARS OF THE PERIOD	320
IMPORTANT DATES	328
INDEX	331

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A PLAN OF THE TOWN OF ANTWERP AND ALVA'S CASTLE	<i>Front End-paper</i>
PORTRAIT OF PHILIP OF SPAIN Painted by Titian, now in the Prado, Madrid. (Photo: Anderson)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	<i>Facing page</i>
PORTRAIT OF ANTHONY PERRENOT, BISHOP OF ARRAS, AFTER- WARDS CARDINAL GRANVELLE Painted by Antonio Moro in 1549, now at Vienna. (Photo: Bruckmann)	34
PORTRAIT OF MARGARET OF AUSTRIA Painted by Antonio Moro about 1560, now at Berlin. (Photo: Bruckmann)	64
SUPPOSED PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE Painted about 1555, by Antonio Moro, and now at Cassel. It has been attributed to Franz Pourbus, Franz Floris, and Adrian Key. (Photo: Bruckmann)	80
PORTRAIT OF THE DUKE OF ALVA A copy, with variations, now at Brussels, of a portrait made about 1559 by Antonio Moro or some other Antwerp portrait-painter. (Photo: Hanfstaengl)	114
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ANTWERP IN 1576, FROM ABOVE THE CASTLE From an old print.	146
VIEW OF ANTWERP FROM THE RIVER From a seventeenth century print by Clement de Jonghe.	178
THE SPANISH FURY IN FRONT OF THE TOWN HOUSE From an old print.	194
ORANGE GOES IN TRIUMPH FROM ANTWERP TO BRUSSELS ON THE 23RD OF SEPTEMBER, 1577 From an old print.	224
THE JOYOUS ENTRY OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU, SHOWING THE FIGURE OF DRUON ANTIGONUS ON THE MARKET PLACE From an old print.	258
PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE WHEN AN OLD MAN This is a copy, now in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, made by M. J. Mierevelt, of a portrait by Cornelis de Visscher. (Photo: Hanfstaengl)	272
PORTRAIT OF PHILIP OF SPAIN WHEN OLD By J. Pantoja de la Cruz, in the Prado, Madrid. (Photo: Roig)	288
PLAN OF THE BLOCKADE OF ANTWERP	<i>Back End-paper</i>

AUTHORITIES

- Antwerpsch Archievenblad. 27 vols. Antwerp. 1864, etc.
- Antwerpsch Chronykje (1500-1574), by F. G. U. (Ullens). Leyden. 1743. The chief of a group of chronicles.
- ARBER'S English Garner. Vol. VI., The Spoil of Antwerp, November, 1576.
- BENTIVOGLIO, CARDINAL : Della Guerra di Fiandra. Cologne. 1635. Of this the Earl of Monmouth made a translation.
- BERTRIJN. See Chronijck der Stadt Antwerpen.
- Biographie Nationale de Belgique. Several articles.
- BLAES, J. B. See Mémoires.
- BLOK, P. J. : The History of the People of the Netherlands, Part III. A translation by Ruth Putnam.
- BOR, P. : Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche Oorlogen. 1621.
- BOULGER, D. C. : History of Belgium.
- BRAGHT, T. J. (VAN) : Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel der Doopsgesinde, etc. Amsterdam. 1685.
- BRANDT, G. : History of the Reformation, vol. I. Translated into English, 1720-23.
- BRUGMANS, H. : Engeland en de Nederlanden (1558-1567). 1892.
- BRUYSSSEL, E. (VAN) : Histoire Politique de l'Escaut.
- BURGON, J. W. : The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham.
- Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Elizabeth, Foreign, from 1558-1586. Stevenson, Crosby, Butler, Lomas.
- Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice. Rawdon Brown.
- CHAMPAGNEY. See PERRENOT, F.
- Chronijck der Stadt Antwerpen. By Notaris Geeraard Bertrijn. Published by G. van Havre. Antwerp. 1879.
- Chroniques de Brabant et de Flandre. Published by Charles Piot, including Chronycke van Nederlant, besonderlyck der Stadt Antwerpen, 1097-1565.
- Chronycke van Antwerpen. Antwerpen. 1843.
- COSTERIUS, H. : Histoire van d'outheyt, etc. 1591.
- DIEGERICK, J. : Notice sur l'Entrée solennelle du Duc d'Anjou dans la Ville d'Anvers, Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique, Bulletins et Annales. Tome XI. Antwerp.
- DIERCXSENS, J. C. : Antwerpia Christo Nascens et Crescens.

- EHRENBERG, R. : *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*. 2 vols. Jena. 1896.
- EVEN, ED. (VAN) : *Het Landjuweel van Antwerpen in 1561*.
- FROUDE, J. A. : *History of England*.
- GACHARD, L. P. : *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange*. Published by Gachard. 5 vols. Brussels. 1847.
- *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*. 5 vols. 1848.
- *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II*. Published by Gachard. 1867-81.
- *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur Charles-Quint et Philippe II*.
- GÉNARD, P. : *Anvers à travers les Ages*.
- *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique XXXII. Series III. Tome II. Antwerp, La Furie Espagnole*.
- *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique XXXV. Series III. Tome V. Antwerp. Les Poursuits contre les fauteurs de la Furie Espagnole*.
- GENS, E. : *Histoire de la Ville d'Anvers*. 1861.
- GRANVELLE, CARDINAL DE. See WEISS and POULLET.
- GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, G. : *Archives ou Correspondance, inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau. Series I. 8 vols*.
- GUICCIARDINI, L. : *Descrittione di tutti Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore, etc. Willem Silvius. Antwerp. 1567*.
- HÆMSTEDIUS, A. : *Historien der Vromer Martelaren. Dortrecht. 1657*.
- HAGEMANS, G. : *Relations Inédites d'Ambassadeurs Vénitiens dans les Pays-Bas sous Philippe II, etc*.
- HARÆUS, F. : *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiaë, etc. 1623*.
- HOOFT, P. C. : *Nederlandsche Historien*.
- HOUTTE, H. (VAN) : *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des prix de 1381 à 1794*.
- JUSTE, TH. : *Les Pays-Bas sous Philippe II, 1555-65 and 1565-67*.
- *Le Comte d'Egmont et le Comte de Hornes*.
- *Guillaume le Taciturne*.
- *La Pacification de Gand et le Sac d'Anvers*.
- KEMPENARE, PH. (DE) : *Vlaemsche Kronijk of Dagregister. Brussels. 1839*.
- KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE : *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le Règne de Philippe II*.
- *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*.
- *Histoire de Flandre. Vol. VI. 1850*.
- LALAING : *La Défense de Messire Antoine de Lalaing, Société des Bibliophiles de Mons. No. VI*.
- LANGUET, H. : *Arcana Seculi Decimi Sexti and Epistolæ Secretæ, etc*.
- MARGUERITE D'AUTRICHE, Duchesse de Parme. See GACHARD and REIFFENBERG.

MARNIX, PHILIPPE DE, Sieur de Mont St. Aldegonde : Brief Recit de l'Estat de la Ville d'Anvers du Temps de l'Assiégement et Rendition d'Icelle. Œuvres de Marnix. Brussels. 1859.

MAXWELL. See STIRLING MAXWELL.

Mémoires Anonymes sur les Troubles des Pays-Bas, 1565-80. With notice and notes by J. B. Blaes.

MENDOÇA, BERNARDINO (DE) : Commentaires. With notice and notes by Colonel Guillaume.

MERTENS, F. H. and TORFS, K. L. : Geschiedenis van Antwerpen. 8 vols. Antwerp. 1845-53.

METEREN, E. (VAN) : Histoire der Nederlandscher ende haerder naburen oorlogen ende geschiedenissen. Hague. 1618. French translation.

MOKE, H. G. : Histoire de la Belgique. 1839.

MOTLEY, J. L. : Rise of the Dutch Republic.

— History of the United Netherlands.

MULDER, J. J. : De Uitvoering der geloofsplakkaten en Het Stedelijk Verzet tegen de Inquisitie te Antwerpen, 1550-66. Ghent. 1897.

NAMÈCHE, L'ABBÉ A. J. : Cours d'histoire nationale.

ORANGE. See GROEN and GACHARD.

PAILLARD, CH. : Considerations sur les Causes générales des Troubles des Pays-Bas au XVI^{ème} siècle. Brussels. 1874.

— Huits Mois de la Vie d'un Peuple Mém. Couronné et Autre Mém. Académie Royale des Sciences, etc., de Belgique. Tome XXVIII. July, 1878.

PAPEBROCHIUS, D. : Annales Antverpienses.

PAYEN, PONTUS : Mémoires. With notice and notes by Alex. Henne.

PERRENOT, ANTHONY. See GRANVELLE.

PERRENOT, F. : Sieur de Champagny : Mémoires. With notice and notes by A. L. P. de Robaulx de Soumoy.

PETIT, LE : La Grande Chronique ancienne et moderne de Holland, Zélande, etc., 1601. Dordrecht.

PHILIPPE II. See GACHARD.

PIOT, C. See Chroniques de Brabant et de Flandre ; and see RENON DE FRANCE and POULLET.

PIRENNE, H. : Histoire de Belgique.

— Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique.

PLANTIN, C. : La Joyeuse et Magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur Francois, Fils de France, etc. Printed by Plantin. 1582.

POITTEVIN DE LA CROIX, E. (LE) : Histoire de la Ville d'Anvers.

POULLET, ED. : Mémoire couronné, etc., par l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1867 and 1870. Histoire du droit pénal dans Brabant.

— Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle. Published by Pouillet and Piot.

- PRESCOTT, W. H. : History of the Reign of Philip II of Spain.
- PRINSTERER, GROEN VAN. See GROEN.
- PUTNAM, RUTH : William the Silent, Prince of Orange. 1895.
- QUINET, E. : Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde.
- RAHLENBECK, CH. : L'Inquisition et la Réform en Belgique. 1857.
— Les Trois Régentes. 1892.
- RAWDON BROWN. See Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice.
- REIFFENBERG, BARON DE : Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II, published by the Baron de Reiffenberg.
- RENON DE FRANCE : Histoire de Troubles des Pays-Bas. Published by Ch. Piot.
- RIO, M. A. (DEL), Mémoires de, sur les Troubles des Pays-Bas. Edited A. Delvigne. 1869-71.
- ROBINSON, W. C. : Antwerp, an historical sketch. 1904.
- ROVEROY, J. F. DE : Chronycke ofte Beschryvinge van de Stadt Antwerpen. Antwerp. 1752. And pamphlets bound with it.
- SEVEREN, G. VAN. See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE.
- STIRLING-MAXWELL, SIR WILLIAM : Don John of Austria.
— Antwerp Delivered in MDLXXVII.
- Somers Tracts. Vol. I, p. 382. Description of the attempted murder of Orange by Jauregui ; and see WILLIAMS, SIR ROGER.
- SPELEN VAN SINNE. Account of the Landjewel. Printed by Willem Silvius. Antwerp. 1562.
- STRADA, F. : De Bello Belgico. Of this Stapylton made a translation.
- STRAELEN, J. B. (VANDER) : Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Rederykkamers.
- THYS, A. : Historique des rues et places publiques de la Ville d'Anvers. 1873 edition.
- TORFS, L. : Nieuwe Geschiedenis van Antwerpen.
— Fastes des Calamités Publiques dans les Pays-Bas, etc. 1859.
- Tudor Tracts : See ARBER.
- ULLENS : See Antwerpsch Chronykje.
- Venice Archives. See Calendar.
- VIGLIUS et HOPPERUS : Mémoires. With notes, etc., by A. Wauters.
- VYNCKT, L. J. J. VANDER : Histoire des Troubles des Pays-Bas. Brussels. 1822.
- WEERT, N. (DE). See Chroniques de Brabant et de Flandre.
- WEISS, CH. : Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle. Published by Charles Weiss. 9 vols. 1843.
- WESENBEKE, J. DE : Mémoires. With introduction and notes by C. Rahlenbeck.

- WILLEMS, J. F. : Mengelingen van Historisch-Vaderlandschen Inhoud.
- WILLIAMS, SIR ROGER : The Actions of the Low Countries, Somers Tracts, Vol. I, p. 329.
- WINDET, J. : Historical Discourse or rather tragicall Historie of Antwerpe during the Troubles. Printed by John Windet. London. 1586.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC., IN THE FOOTNOTES

- Rawdon Brown Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice, edited by Rawdon Brown.
- Cal. St. Pap., For. Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Elizabeth, Foreign, edited by Stevenson, etc.
- Weiss Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle, edited by Charles Weiss.
- Gachard, Philip Correspondance de Philippe II, edited by Gachard.
- Gachard, G. le T. Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, etc., edited by Gachard.
- Gachard, M. d'A. Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe, edited by Gachard.
- Kervyn, Relations Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas, etc., edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove and G. van Severen.
- Pouillet, etc., Granvelle Correspondance du Cardinal du Granvelle, edited by Pouillet and Piot.
- Groen Archives, etc., de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Series I, edited by Groen van Prinsterer.
- Reiffenberg, M. d'A. Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche avec Philippe II, edited by Reiffenberg.

THE DECLINE OF ANTWERP UNDER PHILIP OF SPAIN

CHAPTER I

THE TREATY OF CÂTEAU CAMBRÉSIS

THE Englishmen of Queen Elizabeth's time, who knew the town of Antwerp, loved it and admired its prosperity and beauty. Its resident population must have been quite one hundred thousand of all nations; and the citizens were as merry as they were industrious. There was a constant succession of marriage-feasts and other family assemblies, and of dances and music-parties; the streets were full of laughter and singing and joyful sounds.

The whole town seemed to live like one large family, although Spaniard and Netherlander had begun to look askance at each other. The Duchy of Brabant, in which Antwerp lay, contained twenty-six walled towns, eighteen lesser towns, and seven hundred villages of some size; and of these Brussels was the residence of the Court, Louvain sheltered the University, and Antwerp was the seat of commerce. Antwerp lay in the very heart of the Seventeen Provinces, on the Scheldt, fifty miles from the sea, the greatest commercial town in Europe.¹

The Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis was published in Antwerp on the 7th of April, 1559, and the town rejoiced for nine days. The great bell of Our Lady's Church was played, the tower was decorated with lighted lanterns, the foreign merchants put up triumphal arches and figures in the streets, wine ran freely for the multitude, and nothing was neglected which was looked for at such times; for now there was to be peace between Philip II and Henry II after a series of wars which had often seemed to the people to be only a dynastic quarrel between Burgundy and Valois. The ballad-mongers in the streets sold songs pro-

¹ The Seventeen Provinces were: the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg, and Guelders; the counties of Artois, Hainaut, Flanders, Namur, Zutphen, Holland, and Zealand; the old margraviate of the Empire (Antwerp); and the lordships of Friesland, Malines, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen.

claiming the doors of the temple of Janus closed for ever, and calling on Rhetoric and Music to join hands, since Mars was now a prisoner and the Furies had fled away. Many foretold that this Antwerp, which the Florentine Guicciardini knew, was only at this moment entering on her golden age, and that what he now wondered at would prove mean compared with what was to come.¹

Antwerp under good government might capture the trade which was being driven from the Mediterranean by the Turks and Barbary corsairs, as well as that which was going begging through the decay of the Hanseatic League.

Not only was war to cease, but Burgundy and Valois were to be drawn together by Philip's marriage with a daughter of France, and this was all that most men could think about for the moment, although not a few foresaw that one result of the treaty would be the end of that friendship which had been of such long standing and, on the whole, so secure between the House of Burgundy and the English people.

At the beginning of the negotiations which had resulted in the treaty, Philip had been the husband of the Queen of England, and Mary's death, while they were in progress, had dulled Philip's interest in the return of Calais to the English by the French, and in other matters; and Elizabeth from her accession taught the people of the Netherlands that they were more likely to be friendly with her than was their ruler—a fact which might have caused the magistrates of Antwerp and the merchants to fear that the result might be that commercial relations between the two countries would be disturbed against the people's will.

But men and women will banquet and light bonfires in the streets in honour of a treaty of peace, even when, as in this April in Antwerp, many feared that with its benefits would come evil not easy to bear. It is true that the treasuries of the two kings were exhausted and that neither of them could gain anything by further hostilities, but what brought them more zealously to this unwonted amity was the knowledge that in their dominions heresy was spreading so quickly that soon it might be sufficiently strong to be used as a bond to bind together those of their subjects who stood out against the efforts which all great monarchs were then making, and had been making for generations, to strengthen the central power.

In the Seventeen Netherland Provinces, steps towards that end had been taken as soon as the Dukes of Burgundy had gathered them, one by one, into their hands, and it would have been reached before this had not the male line come to an end at a critical moment; but even then the uncertainty as to the relative position of sovereign and subject was not removed, and

¹ I have dealt fully with Antwerp under Charles V in "Antwerp, 1477-1559." Methuen, 1916.

it lasted until the Emperor Charles V was in a position to revert to the policy of his ancestors. His chastisement of Ghent is a proof that he was a disciple of his grandfather Charles the Bold, who almost destroyed Liège and Dinant, and it may be conjectured that nothing but the magnitude of the tasks which lay before him in his other dominions, and occasional misfortunes suffered at the hands of his enemies, kept him from making a final effort to become supreme in the Netherlands. But here was a more difficult task for him than in Spain or Italy. The proceedings of the States-General, which was a representative assembly of all the provinces, were so tied about with red tape and formality that the delay over every matter was, in itself, a protection to the people against the demands of the sovereign. Also each duchy, county, and lordship had privileges differing at least a little from those of its neighbour, and every part of those privileges those entitled to any benefit by them intended to maintain.

By the time Charles abdicated in favour of his son Philip (1555) it was obvious that the world-power to which their house aspired was not in such a fair way of being achieved as they wished, and that it was for want of that complete control over their possessions which they had long struggled to grasp.¹ Philip would, no doubt, have preferred to clutch at this control at once, and he did, in fact, republish his father's placard² of 1550 against heresy; but the fresh outbreak of war with France had foiled his efforts until the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis, save that hostilities did not stop the executions altogether. Another circumstance which hampered him even during the first years of his reign was the emptiness of his treasury, which only the goodwill of his Netherland subjects could refill.

After the Treaty of Augsburg a great number of Lutheran books had been imported from Germany, and many German mercenaries, who were Lutherans, came through the country to go to the war in France and spread their doctrines, and English Protestants fled to the Provinces from England when Mary came to the throne, so that, if anything, the danger of heresy was greater in 1559 than ever before. There were a number of executions in Antwerp right up to the time of the signing of the treaty, and although it seems that they were all of Anabaptists, who were generally regarded as a menace to society, yet just before the treaty the merchants and the people of Antwerp were showing their disgust at the secret executions which were taking place in the prison; and at the same time Calvinism, which

¹ At his abdication ceremony at Brussels in 1555 Charles handed over to Philip, then twenty-eight years old, the Netherlands and the County of Burgundy. He had already given him Milan and Naples and the Spanish dominions. Sicily and the possessions in the New World were resigned in the following year.

² A placard meant really a printed sheet folded into book-form and quarto-sized.

had been in the town for about five years, was gaining ground and finding in Antwerp a head-quarters for its struggle against Philip's authority. It was time for Philip to take matters in hand; but before we set out what he did, let us review shortly what had so far happened in the town in the matter of religion.

Luther's works in German and in Latin had been already in demand in Antwerp when the monks of his own order in the town—the Austin Friars—began (1519), to preach his doctrines to the delight of many, but to the dismay of the more conservative.

The bishop's power was too weak to deal with heresy, and in 1521 Charles, after placing Luther under the ban, issued the first of a series of placards designed to crush heresy, and appointed inquisitors under the name of "commissioners." These inquisitors, when appointed by Pope and Emperor jointly, had jurisdiction over heretics and those who infringed the placards, whereas hitherto the former had been dealt with by the ecclesiastical judge. There had been no inquisitors resident in the Netherlands, but if any matter arose requiring their attention they were sent for from France or Germany, according to whether the case was in Walloon or Flemish country. The placards, by making certain specified acts lese-majesty, gave the local court at Antwerp—the Vierschare—jurisdiction over the persons charged with heresy.

Probably the number of avowed Lutherans was small, and certainly they were not really dangerous, and only a very few were executed or punished at first; however, it is to be noticed that two or three were taken as prisoners to Brussels, out of the jurisdiction of the magistrates of Antwerp, contrary to the privileges of the town, but the magistrates succeeded in keeping the Inquisition entirely away in the cases of laymen, excepting those of a sect called Libertines and of christianized Jews. Eventually the Austin Friars had to be turned out, for the authorities were impressed by the spread of the new doctrine in the town, and had fears of a rising—fears which were greatly increased by the outbreak of the Peasant's War—and this before there had been any great persecution of heresy or encroachment on the town's privileges. Many in Antwerp said that if the German peasants came near the town twenty thousand men, "all Lutherans," would rise against the rich, and it was supposed that the Regent's strong measures were alone preserving order.¹ Prayers went up from the faithful for peace among Christian princes, that they might have time to crush heresy; and when the Treaty of Cambray was signed, Charles issued a placard more severe than those before it (1529). This was about the time of the rise of the Anabaptists, and thereafter the placards increased in severity to meet the gravity of the situation, imposing

¹ Rawdon Brown, III, No. 1007.

death on laymen for the offences named, and in 1531 the first layman was executed.

Up to this time the magistrates of Antwerp had dealt very leniently with offenders against the placards, and had, to the best of their ability, upheld the town's privileges ; but the rise of the Anabaptists and their capture of Münster compelled a severity towards heretics which was not relaxed for fifty years. These revolutionaries favoured community of goods and polygamy ; they said that the secular power had no authority to interfere with religious belief, that persons should be baptized as adults and not as infants and they preached war against all authority excepting their own. The Regent was at one time in terror that Charles's Government in the Netherlands would be overthrown by the adherents to this sect, who were said to be many, and no citizen of Antwerp who had a few crowns to his name found fault with the attempts of the magistrates to scare them from the town by threats of burning and drowning. It is rather difficult to determine how serious the menace really was, but the magistrates thought, or pretended to think, that there was a plot to kill and rob the citizens. We can judge of this fear from an edict which they published in June, 1535, extending pardon to all who had been banished from Antwerp, whether for sedition, uproar, heresy, or anything else, if they brought Anabaptists to justice and execution.¹ Two days later Münster, was recaptured from the Anabaptists and they were never so strong again ; but the rulers of the Netherlands must be forgiven if they viewed with horror all who seemed remotely connected with them, even long after the poison had left their policy. What was Luther's doctrine compared with theirs ? Many Lutherans considered their own sect to be killed in the Netherlands by the distrust which was felt now of all new doctrines.

After being set free again from war by the Peace of Crépy (September, 1544), Charles once more turned against heresy in Germany with force of arms, and his success at Mühlberg seemed to warrant his issuing a final placard in the Netherlands in 1550 actually mentioning inquisitors as such, and providing for the most searching examination of all travellers. This was too much for a "mart-town" like Antwerp, and the magistrates offered such opposition that Charles was compelled to modify the placard as regards this town. Even then the prosecutions and executions in Antwerp increased in number under the direction of the magistrates, so great was their fear of a political upheaval.

In order to remedy all things, to strengthen the central power, to remove abuses, it was first necessary, in Philip's opinion, to stamp out heresy. He could not regard a subject as loyal to himself if he held heretical opinions.

¹ " Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I : Ordinances of Magistrates, p. 202.

Protestant historians have found it very difficult to see the matter from the point of view of the Catholic King in the sixteenth century, even when they have desired to do him justice. He would have placed himself outside his position and his time had he treated heresy much otherwise than he did. He acted as one who wished to remain sovereign and the head of a great house. The opinion of Catholics was expressed by Strada, who wrote: "Cities seldom change religion only, but as often as this sacred anchor is weighed, so often the ship of the commonwealth is tossed; and no wonder, for heresy is the school of pride, and while by little and little it shakes from the mind God's yoke, it shows us in like manner how to defame and shake off human government. Is it not plain that the wisdom of heretics at length ends in this point, that taking away such things as were somewhat heavier in the Catholic religion and pretending confidence in God (so lessening and blotting out His fear) it brings men, now hail-fellows with God, to be of no religion, and at last boldly to maintain there is no God at all? And he that is once so persuaded and has expelled Him from his heart, whom nature made his Lord, he will despise all other lords with as little reluctance as they that revolt from their king contemn his subordinate magistrates."¹

Philip saw some lesser sovereigns adopting the reformed doctrines, but he supposed they would be their undoing. He looked on heresy as one of the results of a desire for greater political freedom and for more liberty for the lusts of the flesh. He thought the spread of Calvinism in France was due to its not having been suppressed by force, and he determined not to make the same mistake in his own dominions; and looking in other directions he, like Strada, formed the opinion that the interest of the State was so bound up with the maintenance of the old religion that neither the authority of princes nor concord between subjects, nor law, nor order could exist if there were two different religions in the country.² Nothing remained for Philip but to subdue heretics of every kind, and he decided on the establishment of a number of new bishoprics, and the retention in the Provinces of the Spanish regiments which had served in the wars against France.

It was the doctrines of Calvin which ultimately produced the revolution in Antwerp, whither they found their way from France about 1554. With their appearance the teaching of Luther began to be regarded as the suggestions of a very moderate reformer, whereas the Calvinists would overturn the State. Antwerp became the head-quarters of the sect, and its members

¹ Stapylton's translation of Strada's "De Bello Belgico," Bk. II, p. 36. 1650 ed.

² Philip's answer to the Archduke Charles on the points he had proposed to him in the name of the Emperor, dated the 20th of January, 1569.

were recruited mainly from the poorer class of inhabitants who desired political liberty, but hardly any suffered death before the Treaty of Cambrésis. Very likely many who were executed as Anabaptists were really Calvinists. One of the commonest offences for which heretics were executed was that of being rebaptized by the minister of their own sect, and a conviction of having done this was always enough to persuade the authorities that one was an Anabaptist. A schoolmaster was arrested and confessed that he had fallen into evil opinions and had mixed with some of the sects, particularly the Calvinists. Men dissatisfied with the old religion went from meeting to meeting of the new until they found something which attracted them, and it was often impossible to say anything more of them than that they were heretics of some sort.

At this time the only bishoprics in the Provinces were those of Tournay, Utrecht, Liège, and Cambay—Antwerp being in the diocese of Cambay; and one would have thought this was scarcely provision good enough for the spiritual welfare of a population of about three millions. It must also be noted that each of these bishoprics was under a foreign metropolitan. Philip the Good, a century earlier, devised a scheme similar to that now propounded by his descendant. The proposed re-arrangement, which provided for eighteen bishoprics, including one at Antwerp which would be under an Archbishop at Malines, had, however, not been approved by the States-General, and this, at the outset, made the measure unpopular. The endowments of the new bishoprics were to be provided by the abbeys, that of Antwerp coming from three—St. Bernard's close by on the Scheldt, St. Michael's in the town, and Villers on the other side of Brabant. The bishops were to become the abbots as vacancies occurred.

During the months following the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis, the people's anxiety was considerably increased by rumours as to the designs of the Kings of France and Spain against their subjects, and it was felt that the Spanish veterans were being retained to carry out the projects which both had in their mind when they entered into the recent treaty. Every Catholic expected Philip to take measures to protect the Catholic religion, since it was part of the duty imposed on him by the oaths he had taken at Antwerp and elsewhere on becoming sovereign; and whether his projects were not made more horrible in the telling of them than he, at that time, intended them to be, is open to doubt. Strada thought the Netherland nobles determined in the years following the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis to throw off the yoke of Spain. The Peace had deprived them of good commands in the army, and the removal of the King's Court would leave them with little to do, while most of them were on the look-out for a means to mend their fortunes, broken in the

late Emperor's service. They thought themselves left in the lurch by Philip, and things might have gone much better if good appointments had been found for some of them abroad. Soldiers such as Egmont, saw no road open to glory, and inactivity gave the minor nobles time they had lacked before to wonder how they were to pay for their costly banquets.

There can be no doubt that Philip's plan for increasing the number of bishops had the stamping out of heresy for its object ; but the people saw in it also an attempt to introduce the Inquisition in its Spanish form, which was, or at all events seemed to them, more terrible than that set up by Charles. Men's fear was that laymen would be subjected to canon law enforced by a spiritual court. The Broad Council of Antwerp—that is to say, the popular council—showed itself anxious to preserve the Catholic Faith, and most men desired that the placards should be enforced, but by the lay authority which had jurisdiction in criminal matters.

No town liked the idea of the new bishoprics, but none opposed it more strongly than Antwerp, for it was felt that trade would be affected if the Inquisition—or even something that looked like the Inquisition—got a footing there.¹ It was said that nothing would be easier than to accuse rich people secretly and falsely of heresy, in the hope of profiting thereby, if the names of the accusers and witnesses were hidden. These opinions were heard in the markets and public places, in the churches and at dinner-tables, and everywhere where people met. No one knew how the Spanish Inquisition was to be introduced with the bishoprics, but every one felt it would be. People noted that the men named to be bishops were men-of-affairs rather than good preachers—for instance, Philippe de Nigri, who was appointed to Antwerp—and thought the fact pointed to the same conclusion. Very important opposition was offered by the monks, who saw part of the revenues of their abbeys being diverted and their right to elect abbots from their own orders abolished. Add to this that the jealousy of the nobles made them afraid that a new aristocracy of spiritual lords would spring up, and that the lawyers opined that the giving away of abbey-lands was a breach of the Joyous Entry,² even though Philip was said to be “annexing” them to the bishoprics and not giving them for the life of the bishop or *in commendam*. We need not pursue this controversy very far, for the town of Antwerp sent a deputation to Philip, and in August, 1562, the erection of a bishopric in the town was postponed.

The dislike of the presence of the four thousand Spanish

¹ Viglius, p. 38, etc.

² The “ Joyous Entry ” (“ Blyde Inkomste ”) was the contract between ruler and subjects made when the former paid his first visit to the town.

soldiers speaks for itself, and the reluctance of Philip to withdraw them to Spain, where they were not wanted, can also be easily understood.

The Papal Bull creating the new bishoprics was issued in January, 1560, and the Spaniards did not sail until the following year, and their presence was a far greater menace to the country than that of the excellent men appointed to the sees.

Let us turn to Antwerp to see exactly how the placards against heretics now stood, whose duty it was to see them enforced, and the events which accompanied such prosecutions.

Charles's placards dated from 1521 to 1550, and were eleven in number. That of 1550—which superseded all that had gone before and was more terrible than they, actually mentioning the Inquisition—was modified as far as Antwerp was concerned in consequence of the protest made by the magistrates against the establishment of the Inquisition, on the ground of privilege and the harm a commercial town would suffer. Charles also conceded that foreign merchants in the town should be left in peace so long as they lived “without scandal.” When Philip on his accession republished the placards the magistrates again, and on the same grounds, procured a promise that the Inquisition should be excluded, and the recognition of the modifications made by Charles in favour of merchants, in spite of the boasting of one of the Inquisitors before the magistrates themselves that he and his colleagues had power not only to come to Antwerp but to hold Inquisition there.¹ This placard of September, 1550, ordained that those who bought, sold, printed, or even possessed heretical books, or who painted or sold pictures opprobrious to the Virgin Mary, the saints, or the ecclesiastics, or broke or effaced images made in their honour, or who held or permitted meetings at his house, or who held a disputation on the Holy Scriptures in public or private, or preached or supported the doctrines disapproved of by the Government, should be beheaded, buried alive, or burnt. It forbade anyone to lodge, receive, or show favour to heretics. It excluded from public office those who had been convicted or even suspected of heresy, even if they had been pardoned. It encouraged public informers by promising them a share of the goods of one condemned, and forbade judges to moderate the penalties. The remaining provisions, as already stated, were made not to apply to Antwerp. It had already been specially provided with regard to Anabaptists that their men should be burnt alive and the women drowned, but otherwise these hated people were liable to much the same treatment as other heretics.

Philip's attention was particularly called to Antwerp a little before the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis, and a Councillor and the Procureur-General of Brabant were sent to make inquiries,

¹ Wesenbeke, p. 93.

and orders were given to the magistrates to stop secret conventicles of heretics, especially those that were held at night, for even then as many as two thousand persons were going to each meeting. The results of the inquiry were so alarming that the Margrave¹ made a house-to-house search by night with a strong force, and many were arrested and some executed. In 1559 about eighteen Anabaptists were executed. Philip ordered all these measures to be pushed to the full against all kinds of heretics.

So there was plenty of provision made, either by Philip or the magistrates, to stem the tide of heresy, but there was only weak machinery to enforce the law, for the Margrave had only a handful of harquebusmen and halberdiers. The present Margrave was Jan van Immerseele. He was anxious to resign his office, but his resignation not being accepted he threw himself for a short time into his work of hunting down the heretics. Jan van Immerseele had a deputy, at this time usually called the "Schout," and the two of them were the representatives in the town of the Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, that is to say, Philip. It was their duty to hunt down all criminals in the town and freedom, to collect evidence, and to prosecute them before the Vierschare. The Vierschare was a bench of judges consisting of the two burgomasters and the skepyns or aldermen—who with other town officers were called the magistrates—and sat within what remained of the old Burg or castle on the Wharf. Every one who enjoyed *poortership*² had the right to be tried before this tribunal to the exclusion of the authority of all others, and to be imprisoned in no other prison than the Steen, which also stood in the Burg. If the accused was convicted it was the Margrave's duty to carry out the sentence. A portion of the Steen still remains, turned into a museum. Part of it was reserved for prisoners who cared and could afford to pay for board, but the poorer prisoners were put in the common Steen. The prisoners were in charge of a "cipier," who bought his office and turned it to his profit.

In May, 1559, the Margrave and his officers were searching for someone for whose capture a reward of three hundred gulden had been offered. They raided two houses, in which they found six women Anabaptists whom they put in the Steen. In July three of these women were drowned in the prison by night, which was a quite improper proceeding but one often resorted to, and the others were drowned in October. All had been

¹ In the latter half of the sixteenth century this official was nearly always called "Margrave." I shall, therefore, call him so, although I have elsewhere written that "Schout" is more correct. He was Margrave of the Land of Ryen and must not be confused with the Margrave of the Empire, who was the Duke of Brabant at this time, and King of Spain.

² *Poortership*, or right of citizenship, could be acquired by birth or purchase. It entitled the holder to share in the town's privileges.

tried by the Vierschare and found guilty and remained "obstinate."¹ When in prison some of these folk wrote long letters to their brethren and sisters, as they called them, quoting a great deal from the Scriptures, of which they had a great knowledge. They often boasted of the insolent answers they had made to those who came to question them in prison, and regarded themselves as something like the Bible heroes and their oppressors as the Egyptians or Babylonians, for they were usually half-educated people brought into a queer state of mind by the printing-press. Their preliminary examination in prison to collect evidence usually took the form of questions as to when they had last confessed and received the Sacrament, and whether they had had their children baptized by Holy Church, and, whether they had allowed themselves to be rebaptized as adults, by some sect, not remaining content with the baptism of Holy Church given in infancy. The examination and arguments would go on for hours, conducted by the Margrave and the skepyns, or the clergy, if any were sent for the purpose, and so far as the Margrave and skepyns were concerned, it is obvious they would usually have preferred to get out of putting the accused to death and would gladly have sent them into banishment or to the galleys. Although they hated to hear strange opinions, often formed by cobblers and tailors, brought in answer to the arguments of educated men, they did not act in a vindictive manner. Frequently the prisoners would answer that they held the Holy Sacrament to be an idol, that they did not recognize the authority of the Pope or the Catholic Church, that they held the baptism of infants as of no effect, that they believed in adult baptism, and they uttered heretical views on the Incarnation.

Often the magistrates and clergy were completely puzzled by the answers they received, as well they might be, but they felt that much was wrong in the town and that a seven hundred years old civilization was on the edge of a precipice, although there was no suggestion that these people were communists or polygamists like their Münster predecessors.

The indictment usually alleged them guilty of conduct contrary to the written law, the placards of Philip and the Christian Faith. Van Immerseele would never burn anyone if he could induce him to recant, and the temper of the Antwerp mob being as it was at the time, he knew the danger of public executions, and so they had to take place in the Steen and not on the great Market Place as was usual. Drowning was the death decreed for Anabaptist women, but it was not convenient to light fires in the Steen to burn their men as the glow would attract the notice of sympathizers outside, and so many who might have suffered by fire were drowned or beheaded. The worst of

¹ See Van Braght, "Het Bloedig Tooneel," II, p. 249, an authority not always accurate.

it was that a great number of private meetings were held—and some attempts were even made to hold them in public—at which dangerous views were put among the mob. Therefore holding or attending meetings or printing, selling, or possessing heretical books were the offences which most quickly brought the Margrave to a heretic's home with a posse of officers. It was in the May of this year (1559), while the arrests of the women were being made, that the Margrave's halberdiers had to be increased from five to twenty. Closely connected with these women victims were three men, who were arrested about the same time. One of them was a well-to-do man who held meetings in his house and was betrayed by one who attended them. When he was arrested by the Margrave, a meeting had just ended and he was sitting alone reading his Bible. All three were beheaded in the Steen on the 4th of November, but so that many other prisoners could see what happened from the windows. Two Anabaptists and one Calvinist, the last having heretical views on the Holy Sacrament and other matters, had been beheaded on the 18th of June in the Steen, and ten days later the wife of one of the Anabaptists—her execution having been postponed on account of her pregnancy—was drowned with two other Anabaptist women. These Anabaptists came from Thielt, Driele, Gorkum, Ghent, Ypres, Romerswael, Maastricht, Zierikzee, and only one seems to have been of Antwerp birth, and their crime was usually that they had been rebaptized by a member of their own community. In July, 1559, as many as one thousand persons would go forth from the town into woods to hear preaching, and things seemed to be getting worse daily in spite of the executions.¹

An incident arose which greatly displeased Philip, as one devoted to Holy Church, and disliking to hear matters pertaining to it treated lightly. When news came of the death of the Pope, Paul IV, a list of the sixty-three cardinals who might possibly be his successor was put up at the Antwerp Bourse and a sweepstake at three crowns a ticket was started. Some took ten or twenty tickets.²

Antwerp was, perhaps, the most cosmopolitan town in the world, and many merchants, workmen, and seamen who had turned to the new doctrines came and went about their business quietly; but the very liberty which it had been necessary to allow the town, for the benefit of such as these, had attracted to it heretics from France, England, and Germany. Such a state of things could not be helped while the war continued, but now all this could be changed, and must be changed if Philip wished to avoid "a grave political inconvenience." The Bishop of Arras reminded Philip in July that his father had always held

¹ Rawdon Brown, VII, No. 84.

² "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1558-59, No. 1287.

that such an inconvenience would be the consequence of not preserving the old faith. The presence of strangers especially exposed the town to such danger, and it had been made the more imminent by the slackness of the Margrave and magistrates about enforcing the placards in times past. Undesirables must be kept out of the college of magistrates, said the Bishop, and the Chancellor of Brabant must see that that body was more energetic in future.¹ If the Bishop of Arras had had his way he would have made all the Provinces into one kingdom with Brussels as the capital, with one religion, and the Broad Council of Antwerp, and other such popular bodies, would have been abolished.² The advantage accruing to the town by the stand made against interference by Inquisitors was exemplified by what happened during this summer. The infamous Inquisitor, Peter Titelmann, found out that a family of heretics, who had been cited in the way of prevention of heresy and admitted to bail at Tournay before the spiritual court, had found shelter in Antwerp. They were Nicolas Duvivier and Antoinette Béhault, his wife. They had brought excellent testimonials from the magistrates of Tournay as to their honour and business probity, and the Antwerp magistrates had granted them *poortership* of Antwerp, and for two years they had lived at peace in the town. However, in May, 1559, Titelmann came to Antwerp and Duvivier and his wife were summoned to appear at Tournay. They appealed to the Antwerp magistrates, and Duvivier appeared before them on the 28th of June with four witnesses, who declared that during his residence in Antwerp he had lived properly in Pilgrim Street; with the result that the magistrates protected him and his wife against Titelmann, denying that he had jurisdiction to summon a *poorter* of Antwerp outside their jurisdiction. Titelmann contended that heresy took the matter out of the usual rule, but the magistrates appealed to the Council of Brabant and were upheld. The Inquisitor appealed to the King, pointing out that heretics, by moving about the country, could avoid prosecution, and Philip without hearing the magistrates or the Council of Brabant found in favour of Titelmann on the 7th of August, 1559, and Duvivier and his wife were in their absence found by the spiritual court at Tournay to be suspect of heresy and were outlawed. There matters would have stood, for Titelmann could not lay hands on them in Antwerp, but Duvivier went in November to Nivelles and was arrested there, on which he appealed to the King, who ordered his release. Two years later the matter came up again and the accused were summoned to appear before the spiritual court at Tournay to be pronounced heretics and be handed over to the civil arm, but this time the

¹ Weiss, Vol. V, p. 615.

² Weiss, Vol. V, p. 676. This is a letter to the King of ten years later date, but it seems to show what had been his views all along.

Privy Council as well as the Council of Brabant supported the magistrates and the accused were troubled no more, and the husband became a leading Calvinist in Antwerp. Thus were Inquisitors kept out of Antwerp ;¹ but it is not surprising that heretics flocked to the town.

In August, 1559, the States-General, at the instigation of William of Orange, demanded the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, and in order to get a large Aid from them Philip had to promise this should be done in a few weeks, and he himself embarked at Flushing on the 25th of August for Spain. He had appointed his half-sister, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, Regent, and had formed a Council of State consisting of the Bishop of Arras, Baron Berlaymont, the Prince of Orange, the Count of Egmont, and Viglius of the Privy Council. To their number was afterwards added the Count of Horn.

Margaret of Parma had now to arrange for the departure of the Spanish veterans according to promise, just at a moment when things in the country seemed more disturbed than usual, and she and the Bishop of Arras wondered what the winter might have in store. The fears of the people concerning the Spanish soldiers were fully justified by the history of the next twenty years. After their departure Philip found it was only by their power that he could hold the country, and he brought them back in 1567 and again in 1577. Even when acting as a disciplined force in Philip's service they were with good reason hated by the people ; but when, as happened over and over again, their pay fell into arrears and they mutinied, they acted like devils until their claims were satisfied. For years town and country were to be ill-treated by unpaid soldiers—Spanish, German, Walloon, English, and Scotch.

Margaret knew that a French invasion was possible at any moment in spite of treaties, as had been learnt after the Peace of Vaucelles, and these troops would then be required in the Provinces, or they might be needed to help Guise in France against the Protestants, or the Catholics in England or Scotland against Elizabeth. Then, again, it was difficult to get together the ships to carry them, and, lastly the States themselves took a long time to find the pay without which they were not to go. So their departure was postponed from month to month until 1561. But Antwerp was not actually inconvenienced by their presence, any more than she was by that of a bishop.

It was reported that no sooner had Philip arrived in Spain than two thousand persons were arrested for the Inquisition. His plans for his Netherland dominions are shown by a letter to Margaret dated the 29th of January 1560, saying that he wished the world to know that he did not intend to allow the new sects to exist, and she replied that she was keeping an eye on the

¹ Mulder, p. 34, etc.

heretics and that at Antwerp several executions had taken place, and that the Margrave was proceeding briskly. She must have referred to the executions, which had taken place during the autumn, of the heretics who had been in the Steen since the summer, and have already been described. Certain Flemings who had been arrested in Pilgrim Street on a charge of heresy on St. Martin's Eve, 1559, managed to escape from the Steen—a thing not very difficult to do, as appears from the number of escapes which were effected.

On the 27th of January, 1560, four Anabaptists were drowned in the Steen, and on the 1st of February three more suffered. It is remarkable that among the last batch was a Spaniard, named Pedro de Soza, and the people were surprised that the Margrave had the courage to arrest him. He had been converted by a Netherlander in Spain and had left his family there to come to Antwerp. At first he was shunned by the Antwerp brethren, as they feared he was a spy, but he was soon allowed to attend meetings and was rebaptized. He was in prison a long time, and great efforts were made by his fellow-countrymen to reconvert him. On the 16th of March three women Anabaptists were drowned, and on the 4th of April one man and two women, all in the Steen. A great crowd of their friends had gathered round while the executions were going on. One of the men who suffered on the 4th of April was a Flemish weaver of substantial family and good reputation, who had fled to Antwerp on account of heresy. His father hurried to the town on hearing of his arrest in hopes of being able to effect his escape from the Steen, or to bribe the Margrave, or to get him released on the ground that he was only in Antwerp on business, but he was not successful. It is interesting to notice that the executioner got thirty stivers¹ for each execution, and ten stivers more for putting each body, afterwards, on a stake on the Gallowsfield on the road to Berchem, where is now the Pépinière. The Lent sermons of 1560 produced a good effect, and at Easter there were at least six thousand more communicants than in the preceding years, and a certain number of persons, even Anabaptists, sought absolution from their confessors for the errors into which they had fallen.

When the charge against a prisoner was only one of having attended forbidden meetings or of being in possession of prohibited books, every opportunity of recanting was given, of which several availed themselves after conviction. On the 10th of August, 1560, an Anabaptist who had been rebaptized was drowned in the Steen. He was so weak that he could not walk even the short distance, and had to be carried in a chair. On the 5th of October another Anabaptist suffered the same fate in the same place, and on the 9th of November a man who had

¹ Twenty stivers went to the gulden or florin, and six gulden to the livre de gros de Flandre.

neglected to have his child baptized was drowned, and with him a man who had himself been rebaptized.

Paulo Tiepolo, the Venetian Ambassador at Philip's Court, wrote to the Doge and Senate on the 23rd of October, 1560, from Toledo, saying that there was a report there that there had been a religious commotion in Antwerp, and that it was feared in Spain that there would be a revolution, for there was no one in the country of enough authority to keep order and Margaret was not respected.¹ This report was without foundation, but on the 31st of October the Bishop of Arras wrote that, although all appeared quiet, any mention of leaving the Spanish soldiers in the country met with a result which foreshadowed a revolt ;² but, wrote the bishop, there would be a revolt anyhow, sooner or later, so it might be best to retain them.

On the 1st of March, 1561, a Calvinist named Jan de Bosschere, who had attended meetings and now remained "obstinate" in his faith, was executed in the Steen. This man was a tapestry maker, twenty-seven years old, and of some education and famous. He and his wife were both arrested and monks were sent to argue with him in prison. At his trial he was defended by Master Pauwels van Huldenberghe, and in spite of his declaration that he would stand firm in his faith, time was given him to think it over, but to no purpose. On the way back from being sentenced in the Vierschare he addressed the crowd in the street, and on that evening people gathered outside the Steen, for they thought that he was going to be done to death secretly, as indeed he was. The old wine-tub provided for his execution was shallow, and he was a big man, so that it was impossible to drown him, and in the end the executioner stabbed him instead. His body was put on the Gallowsfield, and it was then that it was discovered that he had been stabbed, and his friends took the body away and buried it. Feeling was running high at this time, and before another execution was carried out bills were stuck up on the town gates and at other important places complaining of the infraction of the privileges of Brabant in placing foreigners in office and in making the Bishop of Arras, who was a Burgundian, "Governor," for he was destroying the country by introducing the Inquisition and the new bishoprics "*comme coquin qu'il est*," and they demanded that persecution of heretics should cease, and threatened that a resort to arms would be made and that all burgomasters, magistrates, priests, monks, and "the Red Dragon" would be killed if things went on as they were. By "the Red Dragon" was meant the Bishop of Arras, who had just been made a Cardinal—Cardinal Granvelle—and Archbishop of Malines.³ A matter which particularly exasperated the people of Antwerp was that Philip—sleuthhound that he

¹ Rawdon Brown, VII, No. 201.

² Gachard, "Philip," I, p. 191.

³ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1561-62, p. 15.

was—found time, despite all cares of State, to send to the Margrave the names of persons at Antwerp about whom incriminating information had been given to the Inquisitors in Spain, with orders to hunt them down. The name of the informer was not disclosed, and often there was insufficient evidence on which to proceed, and then Philip could not be made to understand why the magistrates declined to disregard the privileges of the inhabitants in the way he desired.

On the 20th of March, 1561, Jan de Keyser, a leading Calvinist, was drowned in the Steen, and with him perished a woman who had been rebaptized. De Keyser had been outside the Steen while de Bosschere was being executed, and was arrested there. He had also been to Calvinist meetings and possessed forbidden books. Monks and clergy from Our Lady's Church came to the Steen to try to convert him, and he was considered a person of sufficient importance for Cardinal Granvelle to visit with the Margrave, but in spite of all this he remained steadfast. His body also was put on the Gallowsfield, and his friends took it away and buried it.¹ Even men against whom there were previous convictions—for instance, of being rebaptized—and who had been pardoned by Philip, were sometimes given a chance to recant. On the 7th of June the Margrave went out into the country and arrested Joos Verbeek, or Vermeeren, the chief minister of the Anabaptists, and brought him into the town. This prisoner was horribly tortured, according to "Het Bloedig Tooneel," but he would not betray any of his brethren. He was put on the rack twice in four days, and flogged until he bled, and his right hand was so injured that he could not write to his friends. He was burnt on the great Market Place on the 21st of June. During the execution the executioner's nerve failed him, and he was shaking with fear while the victim at the stake sang and prayed. This was the first public execution and the first person burnt alive in Antwerp since the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis.

The Margrave had no power to torture without the previous consent of the burgomasters and skepyns, and two of the latter and a doctor had to be present. Such a proceeding was resorted to as a means of extracting information, but not as a punishment, and whatever the victim revealed could not be used as evidence before the Vierschare until it had been freely confirmed by the prisoner "under the blue sky." The torturing was part of the duty of the executioner. The privileges provided that no *poorter* could be tortured, and therefore the Broad Council, which alone had the power, was sometimes persuaded to strip a man of his *poortership* that he might be so treated; but it is only fair to say that the magistrates, throughout this period, held themselves fast bound by all privileges and rights.

¹ Hæmstedius, folio 360,

At this time Margaret was in continual fear of an outbreak somewhere but she wrote to Philip that he ought to be very pleased with the Margrave and the magistrates of Antwerp for the zeal they were showing, and he wrote to thank them. On the 23rd of July, 1561, two Anabaptists were drowned in the Steen.

The drowning of heretics did not entirely occupy the thoughts of the Antwerp people—indeed, it seems that they never heard of some of the executions—and to get a true idea of their daily life we should pause at this moment to remember that Antwerp was the great “Bourse-Town” as well as “Mart-Town” of northern Europe, and, having made some examination of how things stood with the merchants on the Bourse and, at the same time, of English affairs, we can return to the great *Landjewel* which was held in August, 1561. An account drawn up by Philip seventeen months after the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis gives us an insight into his financial condition.¹ All his ordinary revenues in Spain were pledged up to 1562. To set free his revenues he would require nearly 20,000,000 ducats, an amount which he could not possibly raise. Money was needed to pay interest on debts, which increased daily, and it would be almost impossible to repay the capital.²

This was the position of a King who had recently taken over a vast Empire with the duties of repelling the Turk and of eradicating heresy in the Netherlands. All through Charles's reign his treasury had been empty in spite of the large income from the domains, generous Aids, and the wealth of the New World—the last, indeed, was not then producing much—and enormous sums of money had to be borrowed at high rates of interest. By that means alone could Charles pass from one apparent triumph to another, as he did throughout his life. A large portion of this money had been borrowed in Antwerp from the Fuggers, the Welsers, the Gualterotti, Erasmus Schetz, and nearly all the great financiers. The last war with France was made possible by such loans by the Fuggers and the Genoese bankers; otherwise the troops would have remained unpaid. Philip's affairs were in a worse state now than they had been at the beginning of the last war, and Margaret told him that his credit was so bad among the Antwerp merchants that if there was an insurrection or trouble of any kind the Council of Finance would not be able to get together a couple of crowns. Nothing had seemed more likely to inflame the Netherlands to rebellion than the delay in sending away the Spanish soldiers, yet Margaret had hardly been able to get together the money with which to do it. Philip had to assign part of his wife's dowry for this

¹ Ehrenberg's “Das Zeitalter der Fugger” is the chief authority on the history of the great financiers in the sixteenth century.

² Weiss, VI, p. 156.

purpose, and later a little money was sent from Spain and a hundred thousand gulden were borrowed from Gaspar Schetz at Antwerp.

When we examine the credit of the French Government in Antwerp we find it is as bad as the Spanish. Such had been the result of two generations of war between France and Spain; but most of the French borrowing had always been done at Lyons, and even now that peace was restored it was only with Philip's leave that Henry II could borrow in Antwerp.

The obligation of the town of Antwerp was still considered good, but the King of Portugal, who had been the first to keep a "factor" in Antwerp—to sell his pepper and spices and buy him war material—had ceased payment of interest. It was very difficult to know who was good and who bad on 'Change. The obligations of the English Crown were of all royal debts the only ones which turned out really secure, and yet these were often looked on with suspicion.¹

The condition of the credit of the monarchs of Spain and France upset the Bourse very much, and one after another the great firms of Antwerp "money-men" went into bankruptcy during the years 1561-65. Andrew Lixhalls and Thomas Fleckhamer, who were thought to be the safest Germans on the Bourse, after the Fuggers and Welsers, failed for £100,000, and they said they could have paid every penny if the Kings of Spain, France, and Portugal had paid them what they owed. Elizabeth was indebted to Lixhalls to the amount of £8,000, but this did not seriously damage her credit at the moment when other princes could borrow nothing. These failures were followed by others, not only in Antwerp, but in Spain and Italy, and things grew worse daily because the three kings owed more than they were worth. Even Fugger's position was critical, for Philip owed him £1,200,000, and the total losses incurred by the merchants of all nations through the default of these Governments was reckoned at at least 20,000,000 ducats.²

When Mary Tudor died the English Crown owed £65,000 in Antwerp. Sir Thomas Gresham was immediately sent over to acknowledge these debts, to embark on further borrowings, and to buy munitions of war. He had known Antwerp since 1552, and could "move" there as easily as any merchant. He lived for a time with Gaspar Schetz—the eldest son of Erasmus Schetz, and Philip's factor and later Treasurer-General—but in 1559 he bought the house named St. Francis in the Long New Street from Ruy Mendez, the Portuguese merchant.

Her honesty in taking over her sister's debts did much for Elizabeth's credit in the future. England had not recently been wasted by wars, and abbey-lands had enriched the Crown.

¹ Ehrenberg, "Das Zeitalter der Fugger," II, p. 29.

² Same, II, p. 175, etc.

Gresham borrowed large sums from Lazarus and Anthony Tucher, Paul van Dale, Christopher Pruen, Gilles Hoffman, Balthazar and Conrad Schetz, and a dozen lesser men. The Merchant Adventurers' Company at Antwerp and the Merchants of the Staple at Bruges sometimes pledged their credit for the Crown. Even with her good credit Elizabeth had usually to pay fourteen per cent, but she and Gresham aimed at paying only ten or eleven, although she had to pay twelve even to the Merchant Adventurers in 1561. Of course the rate of interest depended not only on the borrower's credit, but also on the amount of money which there happened to be about the Bourse at the time, and often the lapse of a few weeks made a great deal of difference. Gresham devoted much thought to rectifying the rate of exchange in favour of England, for he would fain "robe all Christendome of there fynne gold and silver," and in a short time he did much in this direction; but, in consequence, he was almost afraid to walk abroad excepting at "Bourse-time"—that is to say, between eleven and five o'clock, when it was a serious offence to attack a merchant. In order to keep up the rate of exchange, Gresham advised the Queen to "use" the Merchant Adventurers, which meant to squeeze them for money and twist them in any way she might choose. The simplest plan was perhaps to let them lade their ships in the Thames with their cloths to sail to Antwerp Fair and then "stay" or "arrest" them until some money was lent. By manipulating the market with the money thus produced Gresham improved the rate of exchange. He thought it ought never to be allowed to fall below 22s. Flemish for the pound sterling. In Henry VIII's time, when Gresham first began to work for the English Crown, it had been only 16s., and he raised it to 22s. and then to 23s. 4d.

Quite as important, in view of the position of England during the following years, was the provision Gresham was able to make of arms and munitions, which were difficult to procure at all, and very difficult to get out of Antwerp when bought and paid for, as a licence to remove each quantity was required. He had done such business for Elizabeth's predecessors and now again threw himself into the task, and every English ship which sailed carried guns, pikes, armour, pistols, bowstaves, copper, sulphur, saltpetre, consigned as "pieces of velvet, ells of crimson velvet, ells of black damask, ells of crimson satin," and the "customers" and "searchers" were well bribed to let it through. Gresham bribed anyone who could help him in any way, including his friend Gaspar Schetz, Philip's factor. Thus he got secret information, which helped him in his smuggling, and was useful to Elizabeth. The Netherland Government might prohibit the export of arms and munitions, because of the scarcity of them in the country, but still Gresham could get them through,

although death and forfeiture of goods would be the penalty for the "searcher" if found out, and although spies in London reported that such things were, in fact, finding their way by the Scheldt and Thames to the Tower of London. Soon after the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis, Gresham was made Elizabeth's ambassador to the Court of Margaret of Parma, but he did not relinquish his duties as factor, and his new official position did not interfere with his plans to make England ready for war. If it proved quite impossible to get these cargoes down the river he sent them to Hamburg or Bremen, and thence to England by sea; but as Elizabeth would not allow him to risk above six hundred pounds' worth in one bottom at a time by that route, getting it over took too long. Gresham surpassed himself when he got two thousand corselets for Elizabeth "bye practise" from Philip's own arsenal at Malines, "for the wyche there haithe byne no littill adoo amonges the offycers" and others in charge.¹

The Spanish ambassador in London, the Bishop of Aquila, informed Margaret, in March, 1560, that munitions were pouring in from the Netherlands, but she only caught a few ships now and then—in Zealand. Gresham was very proud of his having armed England in a short time and placed Elizabeth in a position in which she could stand without terror, though, of course, not without the gravest concern, when Philip's marriage seemed to draw Spain and France close together to the isolation of England. Every one in Antwerp then thought that England had been excommunicated by the Pope as the only great heretic State, and the fear of war upset the Bourse in February, 1560, for Lopez Gallo, Philip's other factor, was taking up all the gold he could and sending it to France, for there was no money at Lyons. It was feared that Philip would send help to the French against Elizabeth at Leith. Gaspar Schetz was being bribed by Gresham to give information about Granvelle's policy, while Gresham himself was keeping the exchange at Antwerp in England's favour and stripping all Europe of gold; and he knew that even with money Philip would not be able to get such arms and munitions as had gone over to England. So great, however, was the war-scare that the English merchants began to realize their property in Antwerp, fearing the Regent would order an arrest, and the general anxiety was so great that the Brussels Court sent reassuring messages. The Antwerp people were enthusiastic for Elizabeth, and were showing a more hostile spirit to Philip and Granvelle and their foreign policy than ever before, saying that the former would join the Pope and the King of France to crush Elizabeth, and then Germany and the Netherlands. If war had broken out the Queen would have had more friends in Antwerp than Philip would have had, but

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. II. The reports made by Gresham.

the priests and monks were doing all the harm they could to her fame. A friar preached against her and then approached Gresham through Lazarus Tucher, expressing regret and hoping things might be set right for him, for he feared that if he showed himself in the streets the people would kill him for what he had said, and he was tired of hiding in his cloister; but Gresham refused to interfere, hoping he would be "well bastinadoed." He was a Franciscan or Grey Friar, and had probably been egged on by the English Papists who had fled to the town, and the Brussels Court sent for him and reproved him.

At seven o'clock on the evening of the 2nd of May, 1560, Margaret of Parma arrived at Antwerp with Granvelle, Count Egmont, Baron Berlaymont, and a great train of gentlemen. She was known to have come to raise money to be used for the most part in getting rid of the Spanish troops, for they were really to go to Spain and not to Leith. Every day she rode about Antwerp in her coach "*brave come le sol*," while under her nose Gresham was buying up all the powder there was in the Provinces or was to be made there before the end of June, to prevent Philip getting it, and was putting about on the Bourse and elsewhere the most optimistic reports of the strength of the English navy.

In June the French King tried to take up money in Antwerp to send to his troops in Leith, but his credit was too bad. By the end of the summer of 1560 all the saltpetre in Germany had been bought for Elizabeth, and Philip was not in a position to go to war, having neither money, credit, nor arms, and the French King could only raise money in Antwerp by leaving his jewels in pawn. Elizabeth's popularity was not so great again for a long time. In the summer of 1561 Antwerp were suffering heavily at the hands of English pirates off Margate, on the Narrow Seas, and in the Thames, even in view of the windows of Greenwich Palace. There was also reason to believe that Elizabeth was going to forsake the Protestant cause.

But the time for holding the Landjewel had come. A Landjewel was a meeting of Chambers of Rhetoric for contests, and was so called because such a concourse of people shone as a jewel to the land's credit in which it was held, and sometimes the chief prize itself was called the Landjewel. These festivals were the delight of the Flemish people, and the art of *rhetoric* flourished still at a moment when the town seemed in peril of losing its reputation as a home of painters and architects—a reputation won for it by Quentin Metsys and his contemporaries.

The art and culture of the people appear now only in these queer festivals of *rhetoric* which were characteristic of the Netherlands, with their mixture of parade and show, fine dresses

and solemn marches, declamation and rough wit, mimicry and satire, long lengths of verse, much quaffing and drinking, and mighty banquets. Such literature as the people produced was that of the Chambers of Rhetoric, which supplied, if not the place of our stage, at least that of our revues, burlesques, music-hall skits, and newspaper satires. As Guicciardini said, they played tragedies and comedies and other "histories," from which one could learn much which was profitable.

Anna Bijns, the poetess, was not carried to Our Lady's churchyard until 1575; Guicciardini was still engaged on his description of the Netherland Provinces; there were men among the magistrates who could write poems and memoirs, but the Prince or Factor of a Chamber of Rhetoric was more famous in Antwerp than they or any of the scholars who latinized their Netherland names.

It goes without saying that whereas in earlier days the subjects which inspired the rhetoricians' efforts were taken from the Scriptures or Christian stories, and new subjects had now come into vogue and the old had become rather musty, so things disrespectful to Holy Church and to the old order had become evident at their reunions. In 1536 the Chambers had been forbidden to act new comedies without the licence of the magistrates and the authorization of the Dominicans, and at the Landjewel held at Ghent in 1539 they much offended the clergy and monks. In May, 1547, Peter Schuddemate, a schoolmaster, and a member of the Antwerp Chamber of Rhetoric, named "The Violet," was beheaded at Antwerp for writing heretical *spelen van sinne*, or serious pieces, and ballads. Four years previously an Antwerp rhetorician, named Jacob van Middledonck, was tried but acquitted of having staged a play containing heresy.

Margaret found that the plays and farces acted in the towns were a great means of infecting the people with heresy and prohibited them, and when application was made to Granvelle for the necessary leave to hold this festival at Antwerp he proposed excuses—that the country was poor after the recent war and so on—but he had at length to lay the matter before the Regent. She felt that all such assemblies were suspect and that the plays and farces would have as themes something prejudicial to religion or the peace of the country, and so she resisted the proposition for a long time, but at last thought it wiser to grant the request, making it a condition that no play should be acted which had not been first examined and approved, and that the themes chosen should be far removed from all matters of religion and the administration of the State.

The licence was given in the name of Philip to the Chamber named "The Violet," which had won chief prize at the last contest, held at Diest in 1541, and therefore was to be host at

this one. This was a Landjewel for the Brabant Chambers, and there were one or more chambers in each of the chief towns—brotherhoods to cultivate the art and pastime of rhetoric and to maintain the customs which had grown up. The most famous of the three Antwerp Chambers was “The Violet,” which was an offshoot of the Guild of St. Luke, which was the Painters’ Guild; the second was “The Marigold” and the third “The Olive-branch.” There were other chambers of rhetoric in the town, such as “The Lily in the Vale of Calvary”; but in February, 1561, any but the three old “sworn” chambers were forbidden to act plays or offer prizes. The licence, which had been given to “The Violet,” granted safe conduct to all coming to take part or to look on, excepting vagabonds, criminals, and so forth, and it selected three of the proposed questions, the solution of which would carry off the prize, and from these three “The Violet” was to select one. The magistrates and “The Violet,” as if foreseeing that this would be the last great merry-making of the old kind in Antwerp, determined to eclipse the memory of any Landjewel held before. The Prince of “The Violet” was Melchior Schetz, and the Headman was Anthony van Straelen, and the Factor was Willem van Haecht. Melchior Schetz, Lord of Rumpst and Skepyn of Antwerp, was the second son of Erasmus Schetz, having Gaspar, Gresham’s friend, for elder brother.¹ Melchior remained a Catholic, but came to favour the revolt against Philip. Anthony van Straelen, now just forty years old, was one of the most distinguished citizens of Antwerp and at that time Chief Burgomaster. In this year he acquired the Lordships of Mercxem and Dambrugge, just outside the town. He had been skepyn nine times and Chief Burgomaster five, and was rich and enormously popular.

It was the duty of the Factor of the Chamber to compose poetry, or whatever might be required, and arrange processions, and so forth, and Willem van Haecht was a famous poet, who afterwards took up the new doctrines and made rhymed translations of the Psalms for heretics to sing.

The challenge or invitation to the chambers of Brabant was sent out by the magistrates in April, and was borne by the town messengers, who were welcomed everywhere and given the usual presents of wine.

On the Market Place, before the Town House, was erected a wooded stage for the *spelen*, designed by Cornelis de Vriendt. Seats were set up for the spectators, but none were allowed to bring out barrels, chairs, chests, or benches to stand or sit on, and none must clamber on to the new Town House to get a view from there. A great crowd of sightseers was expected, for war

¹ Erasmus named his three sons Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar after the Three Kings.

had prevented anything on this scale for twenty years, whereas a Landjewel was due every seven.¹

On the morning of Sunday, the 3rd of August, the town put on a holiday aspect, the house-fronts were decorated with branches and leaves, flags and banners of all colours, and triumphal arches in Renaissance style had been erected on the principal open spaces. Fourteen chambers had accepted the challenge, and they began to enter at two o'clock, each being met at St. George's Gate by the members of "The Violet," sixty-five strong, clad in purple satin and velvet, with silk cloaks of the same colour, lined with white satin or cloth of silver, and hose of white satin, white boots and purple hats with purple, red, and white feathers. They were all mounted and carried swords and spears, and at their head rode Schetz and van Straelen. Each chamber as it entered St. George's Gate was greeted with the sound of clarions and with cheers, and was escorted by "The Violet" along Guesthouse Street, Tanners Street, the Meer Bridge, the Egg Market, the Milk Market, and the Cheese Canal, all decorated by Franz Floris, to the Market Place, where the magistrates welcomed them. "The Violet" then returned by the Molengat and Brewers Street to bring in another chamber, making the journey fourteen times. The prize—a silver bowl—offered to the chamber which entered with the greatest splendour and with the finest array, was won by the Brussels Chamber, "Mary's Garland," which came with three hundred and forty members, all mounted on horseback and more magnificently dressed than any other chamber, and with a train of wagons with figures in antique style arranged to answer a set question. As each chamber went through the streets its fool or jester indulged in witticism which seems dull enough to us to-day, but pleased the crowd sufficiently. "The Violet's" fool rode with two little jesters on each side of him, he of "The Marigold" sat on a hobby-horse, and he of "The Olive-branch" on an ass, and all fired off pleasantries as they went. The total number of mounted rhetoricians was thirteen hundred and ninety-three and there were twenty-three large show-wagons and one hundred and ninety-seven smaller ones.

The following day was spent in preliminary preparations for the contests, and on the Tuesday the splendid procession to the great church took place, the prize for it falling to "The Living Tree" of Lierre; and in the afternoon "The Violet" gave a performance to welcome the other chambers. On the Wednesday the jester of "The Violet" collected all the other jesters into the theatre which had been erected on the Market Place to drink together, and good

¹ For the Landjewel see Willem Silvius, "Spelen van Sinne"; Van Even, "Het Landjuweel van Antwerpen"; Mertens and Torfs, "Geschiedenis van Antwerpen," Vol. IV, p. 279. Richard Clough's letter in Burgon's "The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham," Vol. I, p. 377.

jokes were made by them—so it was said—and much drinking was done. It is amusing to notice that on this day the magistrates ordered that none should tease, injure, or molest the jesters from other towns to prevent them playing their parts well and so cheat them of their prizes. On the Thursday the magistrates gave a banquet to the Princes, Headmen, Deans, and Factors of the Chambers, at which there was *rhetoric* and music, and on the Friday the *spelen van sinne* were opened with the object of answering the question: "What urges men most towards good?" A few of the answers will show the nature of them all. "The Olive-branch" of Antwerp said: "The Spirit of God"; "The Marigold" said: "Glory and honourable gain"; and other answers were "Charity," "Truth," and so on.

Gresham wrote to Cecil on the 19th of August that no business was being done in the town because every one was still "triumphing and drinking."

The first prize for playing light pieces (*esbattementen*) went to "The Burning Thornbush" of Bois-le-Duc, and the first prize for the serious pieces, in answer to the above question, to "The Rose" of Louvain for the answer, "Honour, glory, and praise." Other chambers to win prizes were "The Peony of Malines" and "The Lily of the Valley" of Léau. The visiting chambers waited on in Antwerp after the Landjewel was over to see the Haagspel, which was held for four Brabant chambers which were not qualified to compete in the Landjewel, and lasted four days. The whole feast ended on the 2nd of September and cost a huge sum of money.

There was never such a Landjewel again or anything beyond smaller and less important meetings, and we may bid farewell to the glories of such jolly ceremonies when noble and burgher joined to pass away a month with such harmless pageantry and play.

We are reminded that this great Brabant city was still what the Chancellor de l'Hôpital in the Parlement of Paris called it in this year—"the richest town in Europe"—by the account of the opening in October, 1561, of the new canal from Brussels to Willebroeck, joining the former to Antwerp. Work on it had been in progress for thirty years, and it had been constructed at great cost. The magistrates of Antwerp had been the chief originators of the scheme, and now to advertise its completion and to draw traffic to it they offered prizes to the skipper who brought the largest and most heavily laden ship between its banks, and among those who competed were thirteen from Antwerp, and one of them gained the first prize. There was soon established a regular service of boats between Brussels and Antwerp—two boats each way every day. In the same year was begun the new Town House. Materials for it had been collected long before, but had been used for other purposes.

It was designed by Cornelis de Vriendt in Renaissance style, and was intended to outrival anything of its kind seen before. The Margrave, Jan van Immerseele, and the Amman, Godfrey Sterck, laid the first stone, and the burgomasters, Jan van Schoonhoven and Nicolas Rockox, laid the second on the 27th of February.

The first stone of the vast new house of the Easterlings, or merchants of the Hansa, also designed by de Vriendt, was laid in the New Town, as it was called, in May, 1564, by the Burgomasters Henrik van Berchem and Jan van Schoonhoven, and was finished four years later. It contained three hundred rooms for lodgings above a large warehouse. But by the time it was completed the Hansa was in decay and Antwerp was being forsaken by the merchants of all nations. The large house of the Hessian merchants, also in the New Town, was begun in 1564, and was finished two years later. The carrying trade on land to and from Germany was in their hands, and the house provided stables and coach-houses on the ground floor, and rooms above for the wagoners. Like their Easterling cousins they, too, were losing all business by the time this great house was finished.

CHAPTER II

TROUBLE BREWING

MARGARET was thankful when the Landjewel was over and she could let Philip know that it had gone through without anything untoward occurring, that people had enjoyed themselves and were pleased and would, perhaps, be generous about Aids in consequence. Certainly they had enjoyed it, and it seems doubtful if anything took place which furthered the cause of the reformers. Of course the new doctrines must have been discussed privately, and the fear of the Inquisition, but the Spanish soldiers had gone and the Government had allowed the Landjewel to be held and things might have been worse than they were, and men were not very dissatisfied with what was going on ; and so it is possible that Margaret and the Cardinal may have looked with too much suspicion on this gathering of Brabanters. Yet it was the men of Brabant who, after this feasting and rejoicing together, offered stronger opposition than any other Netherlanders to the new bishoprics, and that, too, with success, and besides Melchoir Schetz, Anthony van Straelen, and "The Violet's Factor," there were many among the rhetoricians who showed themselves opposed to Philip's rule when the time came to do so. One may surmise that Philip's grandfather, Philip the Fair, who saw to what the cult of *rhetoric* was leading, and organized a Sovereign Chamber at its head, would have been present at Antwerp to shed the light of his countenance upon the meeting, and we may wonder, if Philip of Spain had attended, what effect it would have had on his popularity and on his relations with the Brabanters in succeeding years. Margaret, also, and the Cardinal stood aloof.

During the next three years we shall find great changes taking place in the country. In the first place, the nobles, headed by the Prince of Orange, were offering opposition to the Cardinal and scarcely assisting in the difficult task of government, either by removing what was likely to trouble the people or by compelling them to receive what might be considered good for them. The Government was therefore as powerless as could be. In 1562 the Massacre at Vassy and the outbreak of civil war in France threw the whole Netherlands into the greatest excitement, and a bad harvest in that year was succeeded in the next by a quarrel with England, which put an end to commercial relations

for many weeks. To this must be added the financial crisis, which reached its climax in 1562.

We shall see that not only did Margaret of Parma have to deal with outbreaks in towns near the French frontier, but that there appeared strange conspiracies of criminals in various places not unconnected, at all events in her opinion, with those who seemed to be promoters of the new doctrines, and there was cause for great alarm among all honest people. Naturally the prosecutions multiplied in most places, for it seemed as if the anarchy was at hand which the new doctrines had at their first appearance been accused of ushering in. But, in spite of this uneasiness, the executions of heretics in Antwerp diminished, and did not increase again until 1565. In the year 1562 about eleven persons were drowned in the Steen as Anabaptists, in 1563, two Calvinists, and in October 1564 one Calvinist was burnt in the Market Place, namely Fabricius, and in 1566-67 some sixteen persons were hanged in the Market Place for the image-breaking which took place in August, 1566. So there were no executions after that of Fabricius until after the iconoclastic outrages, and whatever may have happened in other parts of the country the heretics at Antwerp were left very much alone during these months—with what result we shall see. It is incorrect to say that the people at Antwerp were driven to the iconoclastic outrages by the disgust they felt at the persecution meted out to persons whose only crime was that they held unorthodox religious views. Victims for belief were judged and sentenced by the secular court, before which they were properly amenable. If one hundred and forty-seven death-sentences were issued between 1550 and 1566, the number was not great in proportion to the size of the population—taking, of course, into consideration what were men's feelings in those days—and nearly every person who suffered as a heretic in Antwerp after 1559, was regarded by the magistrates as an Anabaptist. Between these same years 1550 and 1566 twenty-seven pardons were issued by the central Government, and although the town was the chief centre of Calvinism in the Provinces the Inquisition was not forced on it, and the placards were softened in favour of its citizens. None were put to death by secret sentences, although after 1558 executions took place in the Steen to avoid commotions among the people, who were always good-natured and disliked seeing victims done to death, even when they suffered for opinions to which they themselves were opposed. Some victims were drowned in the Steen instead of being burnt on the Market Place.¹

While the Landjewel was in progress an important event was taking place in Germany. William of Orange married Anne, the daughter of the Protestant Elector of Saxony, at

¹ Mulder, p. 92 seq.

Leipzig on the 24th of August, 1561. William was the hereditary Burgrave or Castellan of Antwerp for the Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, an office to which only a few unimportant duties were now attached, and the townspeople had so far seen little of him. He had paid visits—sometimes to raise money for Charles in the days when he commanded the army on the Meuse. He had no residence in Antwerp, but was a Brabanter and had estates in Brabant. His origin was German, and most of his property was outside the Netherlands. His family was Lutheran, but he had been brought up a Catholic and had been sent to Charles's Court at Brussels. Since the conversation which he professed to have held with Henry II while he was in France, in which the King had told him of Philip's intention to take arms against the heretics, he had not missed an opportunity of opening the eyes of the Netherlanders to the steps their King was taking to get greater power into his hands and to suppress the new doctrines. At the time of his marriage the future seemed to promise well for Protestants in France, England, Scotland, and Germany, and continued to do so until the Massacre of Vassy led to the first civil war in France and the defeat of the Huguenots. The Netherland nobles had always been valued supporters of the House of Burgundy in the field, and had put their purses at its service and had been rewarded with titles, honours, and lands. Now, although the names of those appointed to the Council of State seemed to guarantee that the greatest nobles would have a share in the government, the duty of advising Philip was in fact vested in Cardinal Granvelle, President Viglius, and Count Berlaymont, to the exclusion of the rest. William of Orange was Governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, and sat in the States of Brabant as Baron of Diest. He was the richest of the nobles, and yet, like most of the Netherland nobility, he was heavily in debt, partly through the charges at which he had stood in the late Emperor's service, and partly through the great state in which he lived.

Egmont had rendered conspicuous services in the field, and he was more valued there or in the shooting gallery than in the council chamber. He too was in debt. Never for a moment did Egmont swerve from the old faith.

Horn's opinion on general affairs was scarcely worth considering, but he was popular in Antwerp.

It soon became obvious that Granvelle and Viglius stood for Philip's or the Catholic party, and Orange and Egmont for those who whether Catholic or Protestant were patriots; but it did not appear for a long time how far Orange would go with the heretics. Probably he did not know himself what his course would be until he found out that neither he nor the country's cause against Philip could triumph without the power of resistance which the enthusiasm of the Calvinists would give. It

was soon obvious that there was not room for both Granvelle and Orange in the Council, but the breach between them came suddenly. In March, 1561, they were corresponding on the best of terms about the spread of heresy in the Principality of Orange, and four months afterwards Orange and Egmont wrote to the King that the Cardinal had arrogated to himself the absolute authority and that they therefore wished to resign their seats in the Council.¹ The Prince had been much offended because Margaret had settled the list of the new magistrates for Antwerp with the advice of the inner circle of the Council only, and without consulting him. He was merely given the list and told he had been appointed commissioner, together with the Count of Arenberg, to replenish the board. His claim was that as hereditary Burgrave, his advice should have been asked as to the compilation of the list, and in his anger he declined to act and embarked on a quarrel with Granvelle, which was never settled.

With regard to the heresy which had appeared in his own Principality, Orange followed the course which most wise sovereigns took in their dominions, but which he later found so repugnant to Christian principles. The "singular affection" in which he held what he styled the "true and ancient religion" prompted him to permit nothing contrary to it, and he directed the Governors and the Council of Orange to remedy the troubles by all the means in their power, so that neither the Pope nor Philip might have anything to complain of, and he said that he would not permit any "alteration" there, nor allow his principality to become a refuge for heretics, and that to attain his end he would resort to force—great force. This letter is dated the 21st of October, 1560, and must have been written after the conversation with Henry in the Wood of Vincennes.² Orange was in the future to have an opportunity of deciding how the great difficulties which arose when there was more than one kind of religion in a town were to be settled, and it is instructive to watch him as he takes steps to crush the new religion, then advocates toleration of every Christian creed excepting Anabaptism, and then, in Antwerp, permits the Roman Catholic religion to be crushed. When he decided to marry the Lutheran Anne of Saxony, he told Granvelle that Philip might be assured that he would live and die a Catholic. His orders were carried out in Orange with a greater cruelty than he had intended, for he had only meant to punish the most culpable, whereas, in the event, men and women were massacred and towns were burnt to the ground;³ but he drew Philip's attention to what he had done for the Catholic Church in Orange in the hope that he had won his approval.⁴ It was only after the Edict of Amboise that he

¹ Gachard, "G. le T.," Vol. II, Introduction, p. VII.

² Same, Vol. I, pp. 459 and 461.

³ Same, Vol. II, p. 54.

⁴ Same, p. 75.

allowed such liberty there as was then to be allowed in France. Those who were not occupied with the Landjewel could talk of nothing but the wedding at Leipzig, and the fêtes which were held. When Orange returned to Brussels with Anne she could no more tolerate her position, inferior as it was to that of Margaret of Parma, who was a natural daughter of Charles V, than her husband could submit to the supremacy of the Cardinal.¹

On the day on which the chambers of rhetoric entered Antwerp some heretics were arrested at a *prêche* in a wood near the village of Mercxem, and the festivities in the town were not over when the Margrave was at work again. Two women Anabaptists were drowned in the Steen on the 6th of September, and these were the last executions for heresy in 1561. Yet, according to a report made by the Inquisitor Titelmann to Margaret, there were so many Anabaptists in Antwerp in that autumn that for their feasts and breaking-of-bread it was necessary to divide the worshippers into twenty-five or even thirty assemblies, and the place of Joos Verbeek, who had been burnt in June, had been taken by a man named Joachim, who was a confectioner.

But let us see how the opposition offered by the magistrates to the erection of the bishopric had fared. Philippe de Nigri, who had been appointed Bishop of Antwerp, died in 1562, without having taken his throne. The Court tried to persuade the town that it would be honoured by the installation of a Prelate, and that there was no need to fear the Inquisition, but still the watchful magistrates continued to draw up petitions, and finally they sent an embassy of three—Godfrey Sterck, the Amman,² Reinier van Ursel, a skepyn, and Jacob van Wesenbeke, the Pensionary—to Philip in Spain. The magistrates admitted that they saw the necessity of preserving the Catholic religion in the town, but expressed their belief that the enforcement of the placards with trial before the Vierschare would attain that end. They urged that according to the Joyous Entry of Brabant the Bishop of Cambray had jurisdiction in Antwerp in three kinds of disputes between laymen, viz., concerning (a) the validity of wills; (b) ante-nuptial contracts; (c) mortgages and bills-of-sale, and in no other matters, and that he was forbidden to cite a Brabanter before any ecclesiastical judge without leave of the Margrave and magistrates, excepting when the matter in dispute concerned ecclesiastical property. The deputation started in May, 1562, for Madrid, and after waiting more than a year in Spain returned with Philip's promise that the bishopric should not be set up in the town until he came to the Provinces.

The great nuisance of the spring and summer was the great number of heretical books—translations from the French—which

¹ Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Les Huguenots et Les Gueux," Vol. I, p. 152, etc.

² The Amman represented the Margrave of the Empire in civil matters as the Margrave did in criminal. See p. 10.

were being printed and circulated, and the town was full of them when the news came of the massacre at Vassy, when a number of Huguenots were butchered in France by Guise's retainers and the first civil war broke out. The successes with which the Huguenots met at first stirred the hearts of the Calvinists in Antwerp, and their excitement grew when the first reports came that Elizabeth was going to help them. In April there were outbreaks at Valenciennes and Tournay, both near the French frontier, and Margaret was alarmed, especially because there were robbers, vagabonds, and rascals of all sorts, many of whom seemed to be French, all over the southern Provinces. On the 4th of April two Anabaptists—one of them a man from Douay—were drowned in the Steen. It was reported from London by the Bishop of Aquila that the English merchants in Antwerp were sending money to the Huguenots in France, who in Antwerp were thought likely to prove stronger than the Catholics. Wild rumours floated to the town in the summer, and the whole of Brabant was in a state of great excitement, and anything might have happened. Philip and Margaret, of course, spoke of the Huguenots as "the rebels," and began to inquire what help could be sent to Guise. On the 27th of June another Anabaptist was drowned in the Steen. Huguenots were flocking to Flanders and Brabant from France all through the summer, especially to Tournay, Valenciennes, and Antwerp. Sir Thomas Gresham arrived at Antwerp in July and found the Protestants there in great hopes that Elizabeth was going to help the Huguenots if Philip helped the Catholics, and putting forward the opinion that if Guise and the Catholic party got the upper hand in France the French King, the King of Spain, the Pope, the Duke of Savoy, and all Catholics would then turn on England. Any rumour that Elizabeth had sent help to Condé was received with joy by the Antwerp Calvinists. As early as July of this year (1562) Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, advised Elizabeth to try to win the friendship of Orange, Egmont, and Horn.

In August, Margaret was trying to raise money in Antwerp to send troops to help the French Catholics, and was trying to prevent Gresham doing the same for Elizabeth, for she foresaw that England would soon be on the side of the Huguenots. The French King sent his jewels to be pawned with the Bonvisi and Condé wanted to pledge Elizabeth's credit. Gresham reported in August that every one's head was so full of what was going on in France that nothing else was talked of. On the 3rd of August, Margaret wrote to Philip about the great number of French who were leaving France daily on account of the troubles there and coming to reside in Antwerp under colour of doing business. Some of them were Huguenots, and it was difficult to deal with them if they had not infringed the placards, owing

to the concessions already made to the town with regard to traders. She had summoned the Margrave to Brussels and he recommended the publication of an edict to check the influx of Frenchmen. Two Anabaptists were drowned in the Steen on the 5th of September, both women who had been rebaptized. Ten days later certain persons threw down and broke in pieces the holy images near the leper house on the Berchem road, and on St. Andrew's churchyard.

On the 20th of September, Elizabeth entered into the Treaty of Hampton Court with Condé, and the increased persecution of heretics in Antwerp was probably due to this fact. On the 17th of October, Jacob van Gershoven, a confectioner, an Anabaptist, and a native of Breda, was drowned in the Steen and his brother, Aert, with him. Neither Philip nor Charles IX having any credit on the Bourse, money for the Catholic cause in France was raised on that of the Pope, the Venetian Senate, and the Duke of Florence. Philip congratulated himself on Margaret's having made it impossible for Elizabeth to raise any money in Antwerp to use against him, but the English merchants took it up for her. Margaret was very depressed about the state of affairs there, and in other towns infected with heresy, and her only solace was the opinion that the chief nobility seemed above suspicion of heresy or rebellion, for which she thanked God, for if it had been otherwise there would, she saw, have been trouble for which Philip would find no remedy. She could scarcely have been more astray than she was in this, and before Christmas, 1562, men in Germany and in the Netherlands were saying that if Elizabeth could only be persuaded to give some encouragement to Orange, Egmont, and Horn "the fire would be soon kindled" in the Provinces.¹ This was the feeling in the country when the dispute between the Cardinal and these nobles had not yet reached its final stage. In point of fact, such nobles, magistrates, and other leaders as had resistance to Philip's will in their minds were looking rather towards Germany for help than towards England. In the autumn of 1562 Anthony van Straelen, the Chief Burgomaster of Antwerp, and Willem Martini, the Greffier, were sent to the Diet at Frankfort by the States of Brabant to ask the Emperor to confirm the privileges contained in the Golden Bull, and this caused a rumour, which reached the vigilant Bishop of Aquila in London, that the town was about to hand itself over to the Empire. The possibility of an attack by the German Protestants was not absent from Margaret's mind when in June Philip told her to send the Bands of Ordonnance to help the French Catholics, they being since the departure of the Spaniards the sole garrison of the country. The Bands were officered by Netherland nobles and gentlemen, who were unwilling to lead them on such duty as they would experience in France, and the

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. III, p. 208.



PORTRAIT OF ANTHONY PERRENOT, BISHOP OF ARRAS, AFTERWARDS CARDINAL GRANVELLE
PAINTED BY ANTONIO MORO IN 1549, NOW AT VIENNA

men themselves urged that their enrolment was for the defence of the Provinces and not to strengthen the power of the French King. The States-General ultimately granted an Aid instead of any military interference.

The placards which the magistrates published to keep in check the French Huguenots and other fugitives and unsatisfactory strangers who came to the town proved insufficient. Margaret said that these were the worst kind of people that could flock to such a town—worse than the merchants who brought heresy packed with their merchandise—for they had made their old homes too hot to hold them, and they might do the same here. They were people who had nothing themselves and were likely to sack and rob when they saw other men's property within reach.

On the 31st of October two Anabaptists who had been rebaptized—both men—were drowned in the Steen, and on the 14th of November two women encountered death in the same way for the same offence. The disorders in the streets and on the Bourse, when even well-to-do men attacked each other, may not be distinctly traceable to the presence of so many strangers, but their number was in itself enough to alarm those in authority, and even the threat of banishment was not enough to stop them. Philip saw that the only way to keep Antwerp from some terrible outbreak was to watch the strangers who came into it, and urged the advisability of making them bring evidence of their mode of life and good conduct from the curé and magistrates of their last place of residence. He addressed a letter to this effect to the Margrave, pressing on him at the same time the importance of enforcing the placards. As a matter of fact such evidence as he wanted was demanded by the magistrates before *poorterschap* was granted, but such a scrutiny tended to frighten away those who only came to the town on business, and the magistrates shirked making it. Innkeepers and others were, however, ordered to report the names and provenance of Frenchmen who came to lodge with them—a precaution always taken in times of anxiety. It must not be forgotten that the question of the establishment of the bishopric was still unsettled, and Philip did not give his answer until the next year.

After the assassination of Guise civil war ceased in France with the Edict of Amboise, but there seems to have been more determination than ever among the heretics. The murder of the great Catholic leader depressed that party and encouraged the Protestants, especially in Brussels and Antwerp.¹ The Bishop of Aquila wrote to Granvelle from London on the day before the Edict was signed telling him that the refugees in England, who were best in touch with the Netherlands, felt that there might be an outbreak very shortly and that Orange would

¹ Weiss, Vol. VII, p. 61.

be at the bottom of it,¹ and the Flemish-refugee preachers in England were telling their congregations in April that there would soon be a change in the Netherlands and that they all would be able to return victorious to their homes.² One would hardly think that things in the town promised well just before the murder of Guise, but in January, 1563, the magistrates wrote to Philip that they were satisfied that the steps they were taking were having the desired effect of putting an end to unlawful assemblies, and that the churches were being more frequented, and they were even surprised that things were so quiet—in matters of religion—in a town so full of strangers, when the world seemed tottering under troubles and perplexities. But their aim must have been to lead the King to make some favourable promise about the bishopric. Right up to the Edict of Amboise every assistance was given, by Philip's orders, to Catherine de Medici to raise money in Antwerp, and to remove it to France, but here, again, the number of Huguenots in the town was a stumbling-block, for some of them, pretending to be there on business, were always on the look-out to stop its transfer, as happened at this time. Margaret had given Catherine a passport for the transfer of fifty thousand écus, and part of it was sent to cross the frontier near Metz and part near Cambrai, in order to upset the plans of those who waylaid it; but the latter portion was seized by Huguenots. Richard Clough informed Gresham that this incident had greatly amused and delighted the Antwerpers.

Even in the early part of 1562, Margaret had had the foresight that if some steps were not taken to prevent it, the religious houses, at least those in the open country, would be pillaged by the vagabonds who roamed about. These were not such men as had been thrown out of work by the decay of any industry or slump in any trade, but were of the sort that had no intention of working. Possibly some of them were discharged soldiers or those who found some sort of trade when there was war. It was becoming difficult to distinguish these rascals from the lowest types of religious refugees in the larger towns, who seemed to be quite as dangerous. So great was the number of vagabonds that in some places the judges and magistrates became afraid to inflict the proper punishments, and Margaret considered a plan to ship them to Spain that they might row the galleys Philip was preparing against the Turks. The heretics were now spreading a worse spirit among these vagabonds and loafers by means of the sentiments they expressed in sermons at which those present were often urged to assemble and rescue prisoners and pillage and sack religious houses outside the towns. There were now thought to be between forty and sixty thousand

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. III, p. 272.

² Same, Vol. III, p. 307.

heretics in Antwerp, and—although subsequent events showed there could not have been half that number—Margaret's anxiety at the time of the murder of Guise was thoroughly justified. There was fear that Granvelle might be murdered: there was indeed a rumour in France and in England in April that Egmont had killed him and had then, with Orange's help, seized Antwerp.¹ Margaret was alarmed too by the secret meetings of Orange, Egmont, Horn, and other nobles, which culminated in their request for the removal of Granvelle. By March, 1563, the vagabonds were sacking houses even in the towns—just as Margaret expected they would—and they were holding monasteries in country places to ransom by threatening to sack and burn them. In some places the threats were carried out. All this was partly due to the slackness of the officers of justice, who might well plead in excuse that their salaries were unpaid. Margaret foresaw that—as she put it—religion was likely to be confused with these plunderings.

It is to be noticed that Granvelle wrote the King that Orange and the other nobles appeared to side with the Protestants. Probably gossip made more impression on the Cardinal than it did on the Regent, for she still saw no sign of disloyalty among them; and while they were planning to get rid of him the Cardinal urged Philip to find some of them posts in Spain or Italy to keep them better employed.

On the 8th of April, 1563, Philip sent Margaret a list of suspects at Antwerp, including the name of one Augustino Boazio, a Genoese merchant, who had managed to elude the vigilance of the authorities for a year, and it was not until September that van Immerseele found his lodging, and in it a few forbidden books. The culprit was brought before the Vierschare on the 24th of September, but he produced evidence that he had lived Catholically. He admitted that he had come from Bordeaux thirty-two months before, and had carried on a broker's business, chiefly among Spanish and Italian merchants, and that he had previously been condemned as a heretic by the Spanish Inquisition. He was now found guilty of being in possession of heretical books and the prosecution asked that he might be sent to the galleys, but the magistrates would not make the order, nor would they send him to Spain, so that no one knew what to do with him, and Margaret wished he would escape. Heresy was not really his offence. Philip wanted to lay hands on him because he was supposed to be in possession of some important information which it was desirable to suppress, and he was furious when the magistrates discharged their prisoner, and expressed the hope that none of those who had been on the Vierschare at his acquittal would be reappointed.

Granvelle saw the humour of a situation in which Philip

¹ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1563, No. 562.

prepared depositions in Spain against heretics in Antwerp who were sometimes making little concealment of their opinions.

A very steadfast young Calvinist of Antwerp birth who had attended meetings was drowned in the Steen on the 30th of July. His name was Wouter Wrage, and he had been in prison for a year. Since he was an Antwerp *poorter* the greatest efforts were made to get him to recant and so merit the milder punishment, and for this purpose the magistrates and the monks visited him repeatedly in his cell ; but at last Margaret got tired of awaiting the issue of their persuasions and allowed the execution to be delayed no longer. On the following 25th of September another Calvinist suffered the same fate.

It was—and the Margrave knew it—too late to put an end to “the new learning” by fire and water, and persecution might now do no more than set all the ruffians in the town in commotion.

Nothing could so easily have made things worse in Antwerp than they were already as a stoppage of trade with England which would keep out English unwrought cloth and throw thousands out of work, or as a series of bad harvests. Both of these misfortunes proved to be in store.

Ever since the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, relations had become more and more strained between the Queen of England and the King of Spain. At first it had seemed likely that the King would help the French in Scotland against her ; then the Queen’s aid given to the Huguenots in France had shown him that she might help his heretic subjects against him in the Netherlands or on the seas. Add to this that commercial disputes were building up towards a complete cessation of trade between the two countries, which was bad for both, but led towards the total ruin of Antwerp. The English Queen was still popular in the town, among both the merchants and the shopkeepers, partly because of the traditional friendship between England and the town, and partly for her championship of the cause of the Reformation ; but she was looked upon by Margaret of Parma, Granvelle, and the clergy as one who encouraged all evil.

After the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis, Philip was inclined to grant the request of Ghent to be freed from the Zealand toll and to refuse that of Antwerp on the ground that the former town had given larger subsidies for the last war, and this, too, although he might drive away commerce from the country—particularly that brought by the High Germans, who were already doing a good deal of trade at Hamburg and Emden—and so touch his own pocket.¹ Neither Philip nor Margaret nor Granvelle nor the clergy loved Antwerp more than they did Queen Elizabeth. When the magistrates complained that the proposed establish-

¹ Gachard, “M. d’A.,” Vol. I, pp. 5, 9.

ment of a bishopric would drive the English merchants out of the town, full of fear of the Inquisition, Margaret was indignant that it should seem possible that the wishes of such persons as merchants could influence a king's policy, and Granvelle advised Philip to favour Ghent if Antwerp did not prove obedient in all things, for in his opinion it did not matter to Philip if commerce was hunted from one town to another, so long as it remained in his dominions—a view which distinguished Granvelle's policy as long as he was in the Provinces. This was in his mind while the Antwerp deputies were on their way to Madrid. He thought the Antwerpers ought to be made to realize that Philip could ruin them with a stroke of his pen without hurting himself. But could Philip do this? Granvelle did not agree that the Provinces could not get along without commercial relations with England.

From the time of the signing of the Treaty of Hampton Court we find the complaints growing more frequent that the English pirates were seizing Antwerp ships, and, on the other side, that the English merchants in Antwerp were being treated unfairly. There was always friction; sometimes the complainants had right on their side, sometimes not; sometimes claims for compensation or for the removal of some grievance were satisfied, and sometimes they were not.

Elizabeth's desire was to foster English industry and build up a mercantile marine, and so she tried to keep out Low Country manufactured goods by imposing a tariff, and introduced a partial navigation law. She hoped to snatch trade from the Netherlanders as she had from the Easterlings, and they complained that she was acting contrary to treaties, as indeed she was. The result of the increase in dues for foreigners to pay was that the English merchants could deliver an English cloth at Antwerp six florins cheaper than the Netherlanders could.¹ In the summer of 1563 plague broke out in London and the Merchant Adventurers did not carry their cloths to Antwerp—trade being almost at a standstill in London—and they hoped to sell them at a higher price later on; but Antwerp merchants carried over cloths, lead, leather, beer, etc., and no prohibition was made by the Netherland Government, excepting in the case of beer, until the 28th of November, when Margaret issued an edict forbidding the import of English wool and cloth until Candlemas. Then, on the 7th of December, she prohibited the import of English manufactured goods and the export into England of such materials as steel, leather, copper, iron, wire, thread, and silk, as well as the lading of any English ship in a Netherland port, giving the fear of infection with the plague as her reason. When these edicts were published the English merchant fleet had actually arrived in the Scheldt, and, what is more, a French fleet lay near

¹ Meteren, Folio 33.

Sluis hoping to capture it, for England and France were still at war. When Candlemas came, the prohibition was extended to Easter, and emissaries crossed and recrossed the Channel. In March and April, 1564, having made peace with France, Elizabeth prohibited the import of Netherland manufactures and forbade all trading with the Provinces. The magistrates of Antwerp at once asked Margaret to help them, for Antwerp was the only town which stood to lose entirely and gain nothing, for the weaving industry might (and did) revive elsewhere as a result of the prohibition of the import of cloth, but Antwerp lived on importing and "finishing" English cloths. In the spring of 1564 the English merchants took their cloths to Emden, which they found a very inconvenient port, and in March Margaret forbade Netherlanders to do any business with the English at Emden. The breaking off of trade with Antwerp had made it difficult for the English to get their manufactures through to Germany, Italy, and Turkey, and they hoped the continental merchants would go to Emden to trade with them there as they had done in Antwerp. Many did go, even from Antwerp, but not enough. Such men as Clough—Gresham's agent—were all against the English going to Emden at all, alleging that the inhabitants were rough in words and deeds, and would not welcome the merchants for they (the inhabitants) believed neither in God nor the Devil, and encouraged Anabaptists and Libertines and evil sects, and he considered the Hamburgers rougher still. The Netherlanders were loath to see the English go without making a struggle to keep them, and so they told the people of Emden that the Antwerpens had found by experience that they were not to be trusted, and that on that account they had already been driven from Bruges and Middelburg, and they warned them that Elizabeth would very likely send ships to seize their town. Elizabeth wrote to some of the leading Netherland nobles about the dispute, hoping to throw the onus upon the Cardinal, whom the Antwerpens held responsible, and to make him the more unpopular for this anti-English policy at the moment when Orange, Egmont, Horn, Montigny, Meghem, Hoogstraeten, and other nobles were getting into touch with the Constable of France.¹ As early as 1561 the nobles had formed a league against the Cardinal, and he was by this time at the depth of his unpopularity. In the month of December, 1563, the so-called "Fools' Liveries" were adopted, in derision of the Cardinal, at the Brussels house of Gaspar Schetz, the outcome of it all being that Philip withdrew him in the following March.

The magistrates blamed Granvelle and Viglius for the quarrel and said it was made with Elizabeth for the sake of religion, and, so far as the town was concerned, to spite it for its action about

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc. Vol. III, pp. 590 and 570; and Weiss, Vol. VII, p. 297.

the bishoprics, and to a great extent they were right. They sent Gresham forty shillings worth of wine and desired him to be a go-between for them and Elizabeth. Antwerp had everything to lose by the continuance of the quarrel, and the suffering was great. In normal times English cloths went over undyed, and so many people lived on "finishing" them that their annual profit amounted to as much as 338,000 livres de gros, for at this time each of the two annual fleets from England carried about 80,000 pieces of cloth—valued together at 5,000,000 écus.¹

Granvelle's fall preceded a change of the policy in which he placed such confidence, and Margaret gave way in the dispute, so that trade was resumed after long negotiations through a treaty of December, 1564, announced by her to the magistrates on the 29th of the month. Bruges tried to persuade the English merchants to return to their town, but they preferred Antwerp.

At the end of this quarrel Antwerp was not the town it had been at its beginning. Those Catholics who thought that if heresy was not dealt with sternly there would be some outbreaks of a criminal nature, more or less serious, were, to some extent, justified. After the outbreak of the Huguenot War in France, Jan van Immerseele seems almost to have given up heretic hunting, to the great increase of heretics and rascals in Antwerp; and up to the moment of his departure Granvelle was trying to instil more zeal into him: two Calvinists drowned in the last part of 1563, and the Boazio affair while the quarrel with England was at its height, and nothing else to show but fines between the autumn of 1562 and October, 1564.

The Council of Trent had finished its sittings in December, 1563, and in August, 1564, Philip ordered Margaret to publish and enforce its decrees in the Provinces; but the Council of State decided not to do so in consequence of the condition of the country at the time, and Count Egmont went to Spain in January, 1565, to lay before the King how serious it was, and to tell him that the Huguenots in France were making plans which provided for a rising in Antwerp during the year. But let us see what the criminal element in the town had been doing in the meantime, that is to say, between September, 1563, when the plague was actually detaining the English cloth fleet and Margaret was planning to prevent its ever coming in again, and the end of 1564, when commercial intercourse with England was at length resumed.

For a time private lotteries had been forbidden in order that there might be more money to be put into some to be organized by the Government; but in 1563 Margaret gave permission to a merchant named Florent Alewijns to get up a lottery of jewels and plate to raise money to develop trade with the Levant.

¹ Pirenne, Vol. III, p. 220, etc.

The valuable store had been lodged in a house in Hochstetter Street, leading from the Kipdorp to the Bourse. On the night of the 29th of November, 1563, a party of robbers, some sixteen strong, started from the village of Berchem, outside St. George's Gate, and came in by the Mud Gate at the north of the New Town, which they found unlocked and unguarded, and kept closed by a cord. They were received by the town executioner and twelve or fifteen accomplices. They proceeded to the house in Hochstetter Street in the very heart of the town and broke open the door, overpowered the guards, and carried off plate and jewels and buried them in the fields at Berchem at a spot known to but four of them, the larger pieces being broken up. From this hoard they afterwards took pieces as required. Next morning a reward of 250 gulden was offered for information about these rascals, but nothing came to light. After this every malefactor took heart and there were burglaries almost every night, and the merchants and shopkeepers dreaded the dark hours. On the night of the 30th of January, 1564, in spite of the Watch, sixteen or twenty men went to a corn merchant's house near the breweries, which stood in front of the present Petit Bassin in the New Town, and ran at his door with a beam, just as had been done in Hochstetter Street, but it was too strong for them. The corn merchant fired pistols at them but missed. They fired at his wife when she appeared at a window and missed likewise. Some months later thirty or forty men looted a house at Bruges and got away, but the magistrates despatched riders in all directions and four were arrested at Alost, who confessed under torture that they had taken part in the robbery of the lottery and disclosed the nature of the gang to which they belonged. All these robbers were members of an extraordinary league of which the following description was given by the prisoners, but their evidence was the fruit of torture and so unreliable :—

The league had many members, who called themselves the "*Parfaits*" (the Perfect), and there were branches of it in most of the large towns in the Provinces, the head-quarters being at Antwerp. They kidnapped children and went armed to break into houses and robbed many cloisters in the open country. They had ministers who married and divorced them, summoned them to meetings, and instructed them. At the election of a minister they met in some remote country-house and fasted and prayed for three days, with naked legs and feet and wearing no linen. They lived in polygamy, having as many wives as a minister thought they could support. If a wife displeased her husband she was taken to a wood and the minister killed her. Some ministers had killed six or seven women. They were governed by their own laws ; they took different names for every enterprise and it was very difficult even by torture to get them

to betray one another. There were a score of leaders who were the *Parfaits* proper, whose names were not known to the rest. These chiefs divided the spoil and the rest were hirelings. Only after giving proof under torments of great powers of endurance could they become real *Parfaits*, lest they should easily reveal anything under torture. It was found that nothing could induce them to give information except being deprived of sleep. The gang had been in existence for twenty years, and one may connect it with the heresy of Loy the slater, the head of some sort of Libertines, who was burnt in 1544. Even those of the lower grade had to go through a probation. None were allowed to drink, lest they should disclose secrets. Anyone going without leave to places where people drank was put to death. One of their number got tired of the life and wished to leave it. His companions dissimulated for two months and then took him for a walk in the woods from which he did not return. They considered the Catholics atheists and enemies of God and regarded it as lawful to kill them and take their goods; in fact, they held they were thereby doing God service.¹ Two of their company were executed soon afterwards at Antwerp and several others in different parts of the country, and the executioner, who let the party who robbed the lottery into the town, was brought to justice on the 17th of January, 1565, when we read that Gislain Géry, executioner at Antwerp, was beheaded on the Meer Bridge, near a house named "Den Baes" by his colleague of Brussels. Géry had been executioner for thirty-five years.

In 1564 several events took place which stirred Antwerp and caused great anxiety to the Government. For instance, the preaching of a Calvinist named Christopher Fabricius, a name latinized from de Smedt. He was a renegade Carmelite who had fled from his monastery at Bruges and had passed over to England and married. He lived there for three years and then came to Antwerp and became a minister of the sectaries. At this time he was about thirty-seven years old. For six months he escaped arrest, for the Margrave was still inexplicably slack, and he continued to preach in the Guesthouse Meadows, near St. George's Gate, in the New Town and other places within the walls. But there was a bonnet-maker called Long Margaret who—more because she was under the influence of the priests than to get the reward offered—pretended to be of the Calvinist religion and began to attend his meetings, so that he often went to her house. Having collected sufficient evidence in this way she betrayed him to the *curé* and then laid an information before the magistrates, and it was actually on a meeting at her house that the officers swooped down and arrested Fabricius and one Oliver de Bock on a Sunday in the beginning of July, 1564. De Bock was the Professor of Latin at Heidelberg University,

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. II, p. xxvi, etc.

and at the request of the Count Palatine he was set free ; but Fabricius was tortured on the day of his arrest—for since he was not a *poorter* there was less difficulty about such a proceeding—and it was hoped that he would be induced to incriminate some of his fellows. He made a confession, partly under torture, as to his own doings and revealed the names of several Calvinists in Antwerp.¹ The prospect of eliciting information about others delighted Margaret, and she ordered that matters should be pushed hard against him. He was visited in his cell by Carmelites and priests who hoped to convert him. On the 3rd of October he was condemned to be burnt alive. A great crowd had assembled in the streets between the Vierschare and the Steen, and Fabricius addressed them on his way back to prison. Again the monks and clergy visited him, for there was good hope that this apostate might again change his coat. Indeed, according to van Immerseele he did return to the old faith, but he was a runaway monk, and the Government could not do otherwise than burn him.² There were too many of his kidney about—an apostate Austin Friar had been found at Ghent and a Grey Friar at Lille.

The crowd in the streets did not disperse, thinking that he would suffer in the Steen, as was now the usual custom, and stood singing psalms until the morning, which was to be the day of execution. At seven o'clock the Margrave and his officers rode to the Steen and carried the prisoner to the Market Place. The victim sent a message of forgiveness to Long Margaret, and on the way to execution exhorted the crowd to remain quiet. Sympathizers cried encouraging words to him, but the Margrave's men threatened them. When the procession arrived before the old Town House they found the executioner there—presumably the younger Gislain Géry, who had succeeded his father. As was the custom, the executioner knelt to obtain the victim's pardon. Fabricius then knelt to pray, but he was hurriedly chained to the stake and a rope thrown round his neck. On all sides the people were now singing psalms and the halberdiers tried to stop them. This led to an exchange of blows, and then, suddenly, just when fire was set to the faggots came a shower of stones on to the scaffold heavy enough to drive off the executioner and his assistants, and then the Margrave and his men. A triumphant crowd rushed to the scaffold, scattering the faggots and loosening the chains, but they were too late, for the executioner, before fleeing, had smashed the victim's skull with a hatchet and stabbed him with a dagger in the back. The fire kindled was not enough to consume the body, and by partial burning it was reduced to a horrible condition. In the afternoon the Margrave and his halberdiers came out, and taking

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. II, p. 511.

² The Calvinists denied that he recanted.

down the body, put it in a cart to take it to the Gallowsfield on the Berchem road, but a hostile crowd appeared, and to settle the matter at once they tied a stone to the body and dropped it into the Scheldt from a window on the quay, near St. Michael's Abbey. All the rest of the afternoon and the following night the people sang the Psalms of David in the Market Place and through the whole town; the taverns were closed and there was great alarm. Next day the stone-throwers and others who had joined in the riot and singing were summoned by proclamation to appear before the magistrates, and in default of so doing several were banished and a reward was offered for their capture. As for the treacherous Long Margaret, she met some of Fabricius's sympathizers in the street on the day after the execution and they made a ring about her and railed on her and pelted her with stones, so that she would have been killed had she not fled and hidden herself in a neighbour's house. The Antwerpers hated treachery and spying, and up to this time there had been a lot of it, but her punishment stopped it for many a day. Verses now appeared, mysteriously posted up in the Market Place, on the doors of Our Lady's Church, and at the Bourse, appearing to be written in blood, declaring that there were those in Antwerp who had vowed to avenge Fabricius before long.

Philip had to be informed of what had happened; but the account was watered down as much as possible. He ordered Margaret to punish every one concerned in any part of the trouble; yet only one man was put to death, a Walloon, who was beheaded on the 19th of December, and who seems to have suffered because he failed to come up to purge himself of his conduct as others did. It is, however, true that this Walloon was sent to death without proper trial, conviction, and sentence.

After reading accounts of the incidents which surrounded the execution of Fabricius we may notice certain points. In the first place, after a long series of secret executions in the Steen, this man was burnt publicly in the Market Place, and some writers speak of this execution as if they were ignorant of those which, in secret, had preceded it. We notice that the Government felt it to be imperative to destroy him, as a renegade monk, and that the people were sympathetic with him chiefly because of Long Margaret's treachery. We see that intense excitement was caused in the town, that the authorities were very anxious, and that, excepting the Walloon, no victim was afterwards executed in public or in secret in Antwerp for any matter touching religious belief or the placards until Alva came. Above all, we notice that the last three to suffer—Wouter Wrage, Jan Wolff, and Fabricius—were described as Calvinists, which is remarkable because since the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis not so many of this sect seem to have perished among two score regarded or described as Anabaptists. Granvelle had left the Netherlands

some months before this execution, but he was still well informed about what went on, and he gave it as his opinion that the whole commotion had arisen because the heretics had not been properly punished for some time past, and the magistrates had been very slack. Over and over again Philip had written to Margaret, saying that the Margrave must be made to hunt down heretics; but in his want of energy he had the encouragement of the Chancellor of Brabant, and those nobles who afterwards joined the Confederacy and had already dressed their pages in the "fools' liveries" and helped to oust the Cardinal. Gladly would Philip have dismissed Jan van Immerseele from office, but lawyers doubted whether such a course lay open to him, and so he hoped he would resign; but even if he did resign Margaret knew it would be difficult to find a successor, for the Margrave must be a Brabanter and a Catholic, and must have many good qualities. Granvelle suggested the names of Jan van Schoonhoven, second burgomaster, and Hendrik van Berchem, first burgomaster. The Cardinal really knew Antwerp very well and realized the importance of the recent incidents, but did not think, as some did, that they showed that those of the new religion seriously thought of seizing the town, for they knew that they could not hold it long, situated as it was so far from the frontier, and always easy to starve out by closing the river above and below. However, the example set to other towns was to be deplored.

It is astonishing that more people were not executed over the Fabricius affair, and the result was that greater confidence inspired the *canaille*—who appear to have been the prime movers—while those who hated disorder but desired greater liberty in matters of worship felt they would be left in peace for a time, and henceforth allowed themselves greater freedom in such matters as the observance of Lent and holy days. Many Catholics were much offended when Christopher Plantin, with permission of the Council of Brabant, printed the Psalms of David, translated into French by Marot and de Bèze, and annotated by Calvin. More and more Anabaptists came into the town as to a haven of rest, women coming to bear children there that they might have them baptized or not, as they pleased. It seemed hardly possible for a play to be acted in one of the little theatres, of which there were so many, which did not contain unseemly jests at the expense of the King and the Catholic religion. Always "some poor monk or nun" was to be ridiculed. A popular entertainment at the time was a play founded on Old Testament history, in which the Mass was openly ridiculed in a scene in which a sacrifice to Baal was performed. Jews no longer troubled to make a secret of their ceremonies.

On the whole, things had improved in other parts of the country, and statesmen thought that such disturbances as there

were must be fomented by the French, who hoped to rid themselves of their own domestic troubles by throwing their neighbours into commotion, and the frontier fortresses were known to be in a bad condition and their garrisons weak. The Government was not ignorant of the fact that Condé's agents were in the country and had been seen in Antwerp taverns. The Lutherans became very uneasy, for they were extremely suspicious of the Calvinists and feared, although their own position at the moment was far from unsatisfactory, that if a revolt broke out in Antwerp, through the doings of the Calvinists, as had happened at Tournay and Valenciennes, they would suffer for it, together with all Protestants. Granvelle summarized the situation accurately from the Catholics' point of view when he wrote to the King on the 8th of October, 1564, although he had probably not then heard of the Fabricius riots. He said that some people were against punishing heretics for matters of conscience and opinion, thinking that it was a cruel and intolerable thing to kill a man not being guilty of rebellion or tumult ; but he gave it as his opinion that any who talked so must be themselves infected with heresy and spoke to please the people, and that the King could be certain that if the placards were allowed to fall into disuse the people would not allow them to be resuscitated, and then things would be worse in the Provinces than they were in France.

The winter 1564-65 was terribly severe. After Christmas came a bitter frost and the Scheldt before Antwerp remained frozen over from St. Stephen's Day to Epiphany, so that horses and laden wagons passed over to the Flemish Headland, and booths and tents were set up on the ice, and in them were sold food and drink, and pigs were roasted. The ice stretched as far as the islands of Tholen and Ter Goes. Fuel rose in price because the inland waters were frozen and turf could not be brought ; one had to pay as much as three gulden a hundred for faggots. The hard winter was followed by a failure of harvest and there seemed to be a combination of circumstances to destroy the happiness of the people.

The change in their humour was noticed by visitors and was attributed to the bad winter and the cessation of trade with England ; but the latter misfortune came to an end with the year 1564, and in the following February the cloths began to come in again on the strength of the treaty signed in December, by which prohibitions of intercourse made on either side since January, 1558, were withdrawn and complete freedom of commerce was restored pending the decision of a conference to sit at Bruges. The Merchant Adventurers began to pour their cloths into Antwerp at once, to the delight of every one excepting those who were weaving in Flanders.

The year 1565 may be taken as the last of the town's old

magnificence and prosperity. The new Town House, used for the first time in the spring, was finished too late.

Heretics were left in comparative peace for the first few months of the year, and each day more came from other parts of the country. Meanwhile Condé's black riders on the frontiers caused the Government much apprehension. What were they going to do? In January, Egmont started for Spain, and in June, Catherine de Medici met her daughter, the Queen of Spain, and the Duke of Alva at Bayonne. The former event inspired confidence that all might yet end peacefully; the latter encouraged fears that Philip and Catherine still planned something—perhaps a massacre—against all heretics.

Granvelle thought it would not be difficult to restore matters in Antwerp to their normal state, but it was essential, in his opinion, that Philip should visit the town, build a castle there, reform the college of magistrates, and put a more devoted Margrave in office, or else remove the town's commerce to Ghent where there was already a castle, built by Charles V.

During Lent things seemed better, as they often did in this holy season, and many turned from their errors—or pretended to do so. Even the English, the Easterlings, and other merchants from Protestant countries observed it this year, according to the Margrave. Egmont returned from Spain at the end of April with a report which gave little comfort.

In May, 1565, the price of grain suddenly rose and corners were made in it, as always happened in times of scarcity unless export was forbidden, which was a difficult course to adopt as it annoyed the Easterlings who brought grain from the Baltic with a view to re-exporting it. In this month of May, Baltic rye cost fifty-two gulden the last and wheat seventy-two gulden. The price dropped, however, soon and suddenly—in spite of the attempts of the speculators to keep it up—to a great extent because much was imported from England. In August there was a tumult outside the house of a rich man named Paul van Dale, and his windows were broken, for a partial collapse of a granary had revealed that he had hidden a large quantity of grain. The secret store flowed into the street before the eyes of the hungry people. Just after this a search was ordered to discover grain.

There was a good deal of ruffianism and disgraceful conduct during the summer and autumn. On the 14th of July two youths guilty of robbery and wounding at night were broken on a wheel on the Gallowsfield, which was a punishment resorted to now to stem the growing wave of crimes of this sort, but it had been out of use for a hundred years, and those who saw the execution were filled with pity. In August image-breaking began again and a crucifix on the bridge by the English Bourse, near Wool Street, and one by Falcon's Cloister were damaged.

In September two working men attacked people with knives in the church of St. Andrew before the Holy Cross and caused a tumult. In October there were secret meetings of Calvinists, both inside and outside the town, at which not only was there preaching, but some were baptized, married, and given the Sacrament. The Church of Our Lady was daily made foul by heretics in a most disgusting and offensive way.¹ Even during Mass people behaved irreverently in the churches; fights and unseemly conduct were common in the precincts. Fast days were no longer observed. The *curé* of the new parish of Kiel, outside the Kroonenburg Gate, was arrested by order of the Bishop of Cambray for preaching Lutheran heresy. He had denied the existence of purgatory and favoured the marriage of the clergy—pointing to the cases of Levi, Aaron, Melchizedec, Zacarias, and the teaching of St. Paul. He denied that priests should stand between God and man, and said he hoped to see greater purity and simplicity in those who professed the Christian belief. On the 20th of October an exile was hanged on the Gallowsfield. He was an old man of seventy-five, bald-headed and with a grey beard, who had been Dean of the Weavers' Guild and Treasurer of the Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in Our Lady's Church. From the funds which he held in trust he had embezzled large sums, and he had been banished for twelve years, but had returned after three to fall to the hangman.

All proper precautions were taken to preserve order. New-comers were to be reported and might not be employed unless provided with certificates of good living given by the *curé* and magistrates of the town from which they came. Every shop-keeper had to hang out a distinctive sign and no trades were to be carried on secretly—up side streets, in back rooms, or behind closed doors.

On Egmont's return an assembly of theologians had recommended the publication of the canons of Trent and also that the placards should be allowed to retain their severity undiminished. In consequence of this decision, and because he felt the heretics were not being persecuted enough, Philip, by the famous letters dated the 17th and 20th of October, 1565, from the Forest of Segovia, instructed Margaret to enforce the canons, the placards, and the inquisition. William of Orange voted at the meeting of the Council of State in favour of carrying out the King's commands, but at the same time foretold how disastrous the result would be. Philip did not grasp the situation, and at the moment when from a number of causes the people were disheartened and driven to despair he ordered measures the enforcement of which not even Granvelle thought possible.

Margaret delayed issuing the necessary instructions until the approaching festivities in connexion with the marriage of her

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. I, p. 379.

son at Brussels should be over, but the contents of the letters from Segovia were well known and the people were terrified.

Rumour said that Philip was coming with an army to crush heresy, which was not the truth ; but had he come without an army something might have been done to quiet the country.

In spite of the prevailing scarcity the wedding took place in November at enormous cost. It was a Portuguese princess who married Alexander Farnese. The Netherland nobles flocked to Brussels. The magistrates of Antwerp sent a cake to the newly married pair with sugar figures on it setting forth the embarkation of the bride, her voyage from Portugal, and her arrival. The nobles did a great deal of feasting and talking, as always, when opportunity served. Already a meeting had been held at Spa at which it had been decided to endeavour to unite the Lutherans and Calvinists into one party with head-quarters at Antwerp. After the Spa meeting, Orange, Egmont, Horn, Berghes, Hoogstraeten, and others met at the Castle of Antoing, where conferences were held.

Hitherto Margaret had congratulated Philip and herself on the loyalty of the nobility, feeling that alone it kept the people from revolution. Granvelle had always suspected them, especially the most important. Now Margaret began to realize her mistake, but suspected only the lesser nobles and the gentry. However much their conduct was likely to annoy Philip and Margaret, matters were made much worse by the reports sent to Spain by Spaniards and Italians of what they heard many of the lesser nobles boast at table and over their wine. Banqueting was, perhaps, their favourite amusement, and as a class they were anything but abstemious. Sober southerners never learnt that men who would go half-drunk to Mass might bark after dinner more bravely than they would bite. It was their nature to speak their minds at any time without remembering or being disturbed by the presence of strangers, and reports of what they said reached Spain almost daily. Some said that these lesser nobles went round the taverns stirring up the people against the King.

At present the moving spirits in the opposition offered to Philip were these lesser nobles—mostly young men—and Calvinist ministers who had fled from the Walloon country or France. Egmont and Horn had no intention of doing anything which savoured of disloyalty or could seriously offend the King, and Orange, whatever he might do or say secretly, was unwilling to commit himself until he saw how far the impending revolution was likely to succeed, which was still open to doubt.

It was such men as Louis of Nassau, younger brother of William of Orange ; Henry, Baron de Brederode ; Nicolas de Hames, King-at-Arms of the Order of the Golden Fleece ; Gilles Le Clercq, an advocate from Tournay ; the elder and younger Marnix, who took up the cause of revolt.

During the marriage festivities a number of such men met together, and the French pastor François du Jon, called "Junius," addressed them, and it was decided to form a confederacy of nobles, gentry, burghers, and merchants, admission to it being gained by signing the document which was to be drawn up and called "The Compromise." The Confederacy was to be for Catholics as well as Protestants, and its object to oppose the introduction of any form of Inquisition. Junius was at this time resident at Antwerp, whither he had come, when twenty years old, from Bourges, at the invitation of the French Calvinists in the town, to take charge of their conventicle.

A scheme was devised among these Confederates to seize Antwerp on the 3rd of December, 1565,¹ but it did not meet with Orange's approval and was put aside. On the 18th of December Margaret published a circular announcing that the placards were not to be relaxed, that the Inquisition was to remain in force, and that the Decrees of the Council of Trent were to be punctually obeyed.

Three years before, Philip, in a letter to Margaret, had shown his designs with regard to the introduction of the Inquisition. He had never any intention, he said, to introduce the Spanish Inquisition, and added that the Netherland Inquisition was really more pitiless than that of Spain.² The people of Antwerp meant to have no Inquisition at all in the town, and certainly not that of Spain, which was less familiar and therefore more terrible to them than any tribunal which they had seen at work. The name of it was enough to frighten brave men. The Pope had tried to persuade Philip to force the Spanish Inquisition on Milan, but the people ran to arms, and Venice took to it no better, so why should the Antwerpensers be expected to accept it? There was the greatest dismay among all classes and many merchants prepared to leave. Antwerp would have neither the Inquisition, the new bishop, nor the Decrees of the Council of Trent. Margaret saw there were but two courses—to take arms or to give way entirely on the matter of the Inquisition and to moderate the placards. The former alternative she could not adopt, because she had neither troops nor money.

During the night of 22nd–23rd December, 1565, bills were affixed to walls and doors in three or four places in the town asserting that the King was on the point of breaking his promises and that the Inquisition was shortly to be introduced in spite of privileges and promises to the contrary, calling on the magistrates to cite him before the Imperial Chamber, and putting forward the contention that by a series of past treaties and privileges the town was entitled to sever its connexion with the other Provinces and to share the liberties guaranteed to the

¹ Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Les Huguenots et les Gueux," Vol. I, p. 287.

² Gachard, "Philip," Vol. I, p. 207.

reformers in Germany, as being part of the Fifth or Burgundian Circle of the Empire. It was probably Louis of Nassau and Gilles Le Clercq, or Junius, who were responsible for this bill-posting, and their escapade shows that the Bishop of Aquila had not been so far from the truth when three years before he had reported a rumour current in London that the town of Antwerp intended to attach herself to Germany.

The magistrates immediately informed Margaret of what had happened, and she again assured them that neither the King nor she intended that the Inquisition should be introduced into Antwerp or any place where it had not been set up in times past, and she ordered the Margrave to offer a reward for the capture of those who had put up the bills. The magistrates summoned the Broad Council and urged its members to pacify the people on this point and to remind them that no steps were being taken to get the new bishop into the town ; but the people were hard to convince ; indeed, more bills to the same effect appeared in January. It was said at this time that there was hardly a schoolmaster in Antwerp who did not teach evil religious doctrines.

CHAPTER III

THE IMAGE-BREAKERS

WE have reached what was called "The Year of Wonders," which would begin in January according to the new style of reckoning, or at Easter according to the style of Brabant, then in use.

In January, 1566, the four chief towns of Brabant made a protest through the Council of Brabant against the introduction of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, the Inquisition, and the placards. Margaret ordered a search to be made among the archives, and the Council of Brabant returned answer that they found that Van der Hulst and his successors had exercised the function of Inquisitors in the Provinces from 1522, from time to time, even in Brabant, until 1529 or thereabouts; but that from that time they could find no instance of Inquisitors having exercised their jurisdiction in Brabant, excepting in the famous case of Loy in 1538, at Antwerp, and that owing to the opposition offered to the placard of 1550 it was never published in Brabant as it has been in the other Provinces, but in a much modified form.

Margaret thereupon promised that no "novelty" should be introduced, but the people were not contented with such a guarantee. They would believe neither her nor their own magistrates; and though the latter were good guardians of the town's privileges, there is no doubt that Margaret intended to continue the Inquisition in the Provinces, though not in its Spanish form, and to introduce it into Brabant and Antwerp if possible; but there was not the slightest chance of her being able to do so unless by force. On the 9th of January she wrote to Philip that the garrisons were on the verge of mutiny for pay, and so it was impossible to force the Inquisition and the placards on the country, as he had ordered, and that most of the seigneurs who were governors of Provinces said openly that they would take no part in burning fifty or sixty thousand people; also that food was too expensive at the moment to let it be wise to try such experiments.¹ In an interview with the Antwerp deputies she would have told them what she held their duties to be with regard to helping such Inquisitors, but Berlaymont and Viglius persuaded her to refrain from mentioning the hated institution.²

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. I, p. 387.

² Same.

Orange's view at the time on the matter of the Inquisition is shown by a letter in which he wrote that the late Emperor and Mary of Hungary (then Regent) had frequently given assurances that the Inquisition should not be introduced *in any form*, and that the country was therefore quiet in their time, and that Charles softened the placards. Now Orange thought the scarcity and high price of wheat made it the worst moment for attempting to introduce the Inquisition.¹ From which we may gather that the Emperor had so softened the placards that the existence of the Inquisitors in the Netherlands was hardly noticed by the Antwerp people, and that they could even, without being recognized, lay hold of Loy.

The nobles, including Orange, conferred at Breda and Hoogstraeten, and many persons signed the Compromise. It was decided to present a Request (or Petition) to the Regent, demanding the abrogation of the placards, but Egmont and Horn, seeing there was more treason to Philip in the proceedings of the "Confederates," as those who signed the Compromise called themselves, than they cared for, stood aloof. Egmont, who had served with such distinction against the French six years before, disliked the presence of so many of that nation in the country—of such men as Junius. Orange still appeared loyal, but waited and watched. The disturbances of this year (1566) brought Alva as an avenger, and made Orange the patriot leader, for that was the only path for him after Alva's arrival, unless he had been willing to retire to and remain in Germany.

In January, 1566, the Anabaptists were holding secret gatherings in the town, and the magistrates, becoming uneasy, published a reminder that they were unlawful and contrary to the placards of Philip and of the town. Three of the sect were rescued from the Steen by their friends in the same month and got away. Posters continued to frighten the people about the Inquisition, and paintings, portraits, ballads, and songs were scattered about, and little books in manuscript against persecution and the Inquisition and all "novelties." Such matter was usually in Flemish, but sometimes in French. It was about March that the magistrates were informed that strangers who were members of the Confederacy were hiding in the inns and that several burghers and merchants were in league with them. A watch was set day and night, ships were searched on arrival, and fresh injunctions were issued to landlords to bring up their guests for identification. Some pointed to the number of Huguenots in the Netherlands and said the Protestants were going to attack the country from France and Germany, and that an English fleet was in readiness to join them. The Burgomaster, Anthony van Straelen, did all he could to preserve order and summoned the Broad Council and conferred with the *nations* of foreign

¹ Reiffenberg, "M. d'A.," p. 17, etc.

merchants. New locks were put on the gates, and armed ships were put in the river to prevent any surprise from that side. Strangers who had not resided in the town for three months were expelled at six hours' notice.

Many Catholics were opposed to the introduction of the Inquisition, but felt that if Philip withdrew the placards the country would be overwhelmed, not only by Huguenots, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Anabaptists, but by members of a lot of queer sects, many of which advocated community of goods and even of wives (so it was said), and they hoped things had not yet gone too far to be remedied by a good harvest and Lenten sermons—or, best of all, by the King's coming; but fear of an attack by the Turks was again being made an excuse for his delay. As things stood it looked as if ultimately famine might hasten on a revolt, and bitter feeling was caused by the knowledge that speculators were holding grain for a rise in price. D'Assonleville, of the Privy Council, thought there were really three kinds of dissatisfied persons—those who asked only for the abolition of the Inquisition and the placards, those who wanted to live just as they pleased, and those who really wanted to see a change of prince, the sack of churches, and the pillage of the rich, and only used the fear of the Inquisition as a stalking-horse. Margaret feared the Confederates were planning a rising in the North and to seize Antwerp.

After the meeting of the Confederates at Breda it was rumoured that Condé and half a dozen gentlemen disguised as merchants had visited Antwerp, and even that they had been at Breda. Margaret felt that only the want of a leader delayed armed resistance to the King's orders.¹ What if Egmont should decide to be that leader? No success in the field was likely for the Confederates unless he took command, but if he did anything might happen. Certainly it was only by force that Philip could establish the Inquisition in Antwerp now that men's eyes were open.

After the meetings at Breda and Hoogstraeten, Orange—although he did not break with the Government—let his suspicions of Philip be well known among the people. These conferences gave rise to all sorts of rumours as to what the nobles intended to do. Timid folk of the old religion feared a massacre of the clergy or of all Catholics, and many citizens signed the Compromise simply in the hope of saving their houses and property from the heretics. Others signed to see their names among those of the nobility, but however their names got on the document, their presence there undoubtedly constituted a power against the introduction of the Inquisition.

Louis of Nassau and the Baron de Brederode led some two hundred Confederates, all armed, into Brussels to present the

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. I, p. 396.

Request to the Regent. This they did on the 5th of April, and on the 8th a banquet was made by the Confederates at Culembourg House, at which Brederode presided, and a jest which had been made at their expense was repeated. Someone had called them "Les Gueux"¹ (the Beggars), and they adopted the name with shouts of delight, and the Gueux they became, adopting as badges the wallet and wooden bowl the beggars carried.¹

On the 10th of April the Gueux broke up, after receiving Margaret's promise to forward their Request to the King, to ask for the summoning of the States-General, and in the meantime to moderate the placards. The author of the "Antwerp Chronicle" calls the Gueux "schotelkens" (little bowls), and says that within a few days their manners spread to Antwerp, so that at banquets, weddings, and even ordinary family meals the health of "The Beggars" was honoured. Merchants wore the "fools' liveries" of Franciscans' grey with the Beggars' medals at their necks and wooden bowls at their girdles, and some members of the Military Guilds wore these badges on their equipment. Most of the medals were made of tin, lead, or copper, but some were of gold and some were the work of Jacques Jongelinckx, the Antwerp sculptor. Many made their servants wear the badges, and some had special liveries made to carry out the idea. It was convenient to appear to be fighting a policy and not to be disloyal to the King and the medals were designed with that in mind. They represented on one side an effigy of the King and on the other two hands clasped, with the words "*En tout fidelles au roy, jusques a porter la besace.*" They were sold in the streets, and beggars' bowls were imitated in miniature. People shouted "*Vive les Gueux!*" all day long just as one cried "*Pastez chaudz!*"

Brederode, who soon got the name of the "Big Beggar," was a debauchee and rarely thoroughly sober. He left Brussels and rode into Antwerp by St. George's Gate, on the 10th of April, with two score companions, and lodged at the "Red Lion" in Brewers Street—the modern rue des Peignes. On the evening of his arrival one of his companions ordered a capon to be prepared for his own supper, although it was Lent, but Brederode would not share it. Afterwards he was accused of having eaten meat that evening—capon and other things—publicly.

The news of his arrival spread through the town and a large crowd of people flocked to the "Red Lion." He left the supper-table and went to the window and made a speech promising the people that he would see that the yoke of the Inquisition was kept from them and the placards withdrawn. When he departed to his castle at Vianen in South Holland, a mob conducted him from the town. As for this mob it was said that the meanest trades-

¹ Pronounced "Gheuses" by contemporary Englishmen. See Burgon, Vol. II, p. 128.

man had either a firearm or a pike with which to keep out the Inquisition. So now those who had presented the Request were the leaders of the people.

No doubt an exaggerated importance was given by the commons to the boasting of the Confederates of how they would be their protectors, but attempts were deliberately made to mislead them. It was, in the opinion of the magistrates, disastrous work which some did in spreading through the town false rumours that the placards had been entirely withdrawn, that heretics would no longer be punished, and that all would be allowed to live as they pleased, in consequence of what had been wrung from the Regent. The host of the "Red Lion" was interrogated by the Margrave as to whether he had not heard Brederode and his friends putting about such false statements while at his inn. This suggestion, like the accusation about the capons, seems to have been ill founded, but the Margrave continued to hunt for such as were responsible for creating a security in heretical minds which would lead them to further wrongdoing.¹ These rumours led to the return of a multitude of fugitives, who came in ships and wagons, singing psalms on the journey. An edict of the 27th of April ordered such people to depart, but it was disregarded. Those inhabitants who had any property to lose were uneasy, for many were alive who remembered what the Anabaptists had done at Münster in 1534, and the news of Rizzio's murder troubled the Catholics. The factors or agents of the Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese firms were consulting their principals about moving their businesses. The Spanish merchant Del Rio wound up his affairs and sold his fine ships and warehouses and transferred his money to Spain and Genoa. Spinoza had gone too, and many German merchants retired across the Rhine. London, Sandwich, and their environs were so full of Netherlanders that they were said to surpass thirty thousand in number. Elizabeth had assigned Norwich to them, hoping to entice other Netherland industries to England, as her predecessors had enticed that of weaving. Every week ships went from Sandwich to Antwerp laden with such textiles as bayes and sayes, which had a short time before gone from the Netherlands to England.² Spaniards were known to be buying firearms—it was said that between four and five thousand had been sold in Antwerp alone; ships-of-war appeared off the mouth of the Scheldt which could not be accounted for. In the late spring food became more abundant, and to this was probably due the postponing of any sort of revolt.

Great indignation was felt because, at the renovation of the board of magistrates in May, Hendrik van Berchem, known to

¹ Letter from J. van Immerseele to Margaret, "Corr. de Philippe II," Vol. II, p. 559.

² Gachard, "Philip," Vol. I, p. 392.

be an enthusiastic Cardinalist, was reappointed Chief Burgomaster, and when Alonzo del Canto, controller of finances and one of Philip's spies, went to the town, he was mobbed and called "Inquisitor," and the magistrates advised him to hide in his lodging.

The number of persons who communicated at Easter was satisfactory, but it was felt that many of them did so only to deceive. There were thought to be more heretics in Antwerp than in Geneva.¹ Nobles distributed books containing exhortations against the Spanish Inquisition in the streets at night, and papers continued to appear on church doors against the clergy.

Philippe de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, was the chief manager of the Calvinist consistories at Antwerp, and here sat the Synod of the consistories of all parts of the country. The consistories took names in imitation of those of the Chambers of Rhetoric, that of Antwerp being "The Vine."

In May, Philip wrote to Margaret that he could not consent to the moderation of the placards or to the assembling of the States-General. Three weeks after the Request had been presented we find the Regent urging the magistrates to arrest Jean Taffin, a native of Tournay, who had once been Granvelle's secretary, and was lurking in Antwerp, though no one knew in what street, and holding conventicles and preaching secretly. The magistrates had tried to arrest Junius, who has already been mentioned, on the charge of being the author of treasonable correspondence, but they did not know him by sight, and so difficult was it to identify him that Margaret sent a painter from Brussels who hypocritically joined his Antwerp conventicle, and not only discovered where he lodged, but made a picture of him which was given to the Margrave, and the Schout was sent with a search-warrant to his house, but he had gone half an hour before to Breda.

Several Calvinist ministers had been teaching secretly in Antwerp, but now they began to come out into the open. Junius had come from Bourges, Taffin from Tournay, Modet from Holland. Among the Lutheran teachers was the *curé* of Kiel, but none of the Lutherans were so energetic as the Calvinists or gave so much trouble.

The magistrates, accounting later to the King for the origin of the troubles in the town in this year, said that they began with the fear of the Inquisition, and that the aforesaid mischievous falsehoods spread by evil people, after the presentation of the Request—that prosecution and persecution for the matter of religion were to cease and so on—had made things worse, because so many miscreants returned and because many were encouraged

¹ The correspondence of Granvelle, Vol. I, is full of small but interesting items of news about Antwerp in that spring.

to make no further concealment of their heresy ; and they added that the preaching did the rest.

The Antwerp chronicler tells us that the Calvinists first began to preach outside the town on the 22nd of May, 1566. They had, of course, held gatherings years before, outside the town and inside as well but not so openly. On that day a *prêche* was held in Berchem Wood, outside St. George's Gate, and the preacher seems to have been a Burgundian named Stephen Mermier, who preached in Flemish. Not a very large number of people—perhaps two hundred—were present. The historian Bor says that the rage for preaching began in West Flanders. On the 13th of June, there was a *prêche* of some four hundred people in the same wood. Next day the Margrave found five barrels of forbidden books at the "Golden Lion" in Brewers Street, which had been printed at Sedan in French and Flemish, including a Huguenot Martyrology and a Dialogue between the Pope and the Devil, who were made to agree very well together.

Margaret feared Antwerp's example would be followed elsewhere, and sent to the Calvinist ministers, who appear to have been quite well known by this time, in the hope of inducing them to discontinue preaching ; but the answer was another gathering at the village of Borgerhout, outside the Kipdorp Gate. On this she threatened to send Orange and Egmont to cut their assemblies in pieces, and sent word to that effect to the ministers and elders and begged them to desist from public preaching for a few weeks, by which time she secretly hoped to have more troops at her disposal. All she had at the moment were her small bodyguard and the Bands of Ordonnance, and the leaders of the latter had, for the most part, joined the Confederacy of the Nobles. The Calvinists now began to go to meetings armed, at first with sticks and so on, and then with firearms, swords, and pikes.

On the 24th of June, St. John's Day, was preached the first public sermon in French, and that was by a Paris advocate "clad in a long mantle," who had fled to Antwerp from his creditors. The meeting was held at Borgerhout in a large open space which had been used by the English merchants as a shooting ground and was named the "Laer,"¹ or "Luisbeke-Laer," and was much nearer to the town than the other chosen places had been. Some five thousand people were present. All the approaches were guarded by armed men during the service, and at the end of it the preacher announced that there would be another *prêche* on the following Saturday in Flemish. The magistrates informed the Regent, and she ordered them to prevent its taking place. The French peril was fully realized now. The Court issued a placard on the 26th of June ordering all

¹ "Laer" means a clearing in a wood.

foreigners who were not merchants or in the country for a definite, good purpose to leave. On the same day the magistrates forbade anyone to go out to sermons, and on the 29th of June, after consulting the Broad Council as to the best means of putting a stop to them altogether, reissued the decree and strengthened the guard by twenty or thirty burghers at each gate, with orders to let none pass out to them; yet, on that day, which was St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, and a Saturday, fifteen hundred men and women went out to two sermons at the Laer—both Calvinist, one in French and the other in Flemish.

On the next day, Sunday, the 30th of June, the gates were closed and a guard set as before, but one Calvinist minister preached in French and another in Flemish, under a hedge, quite close together, and ten or twelve thousand persons were there, men and women, and many of good position. No one interfered with their going out or coming in, although they went in great troops.

John Keyle, an Englishman, who estimated their number and reported to Cecil, wrote that he had never seen people go to anything more joyfully, nor return more contented, nor behave more reverently, even in churches, than these did in the fields. They said they would continue to hold meetings there until the magistrates let them have a church in the town.¹ Strada was told that after the sermon they set their preachers on horseback and conducted them home guarded by horse and foot. Some carried out psalm books, refrain books, pictures and drawings directed against the Mass, the Pope, and the ecclesiastics to sell in the crowd. Some took food and drink with them in the morning, when there was to be a sermon in the afternoon, so that they would not have to return to the town for dinner.

The magistrates informed the Regent of the state into which things had fallen, and asked her to come to the town, but with no other troops than her bodyguard. A very remarkable incident was spoken of by John Keyle in a later letter as having happened at this Sunday's *prêche*. De Hames appeared at it, sent by the Regent. He remonstrated with the ministers on her behalf, and on that of the Council of State, saying they were surprised at what had happened and commanded that there should be an end of such conduct. The ministers replied that they had not brought about any uproar or disobedience to the King, and intended to obey him and the law, but that he had no authority over their souls, and that on this point they would not listen to his orders. Whereupon de Hames said that he had now discharged his duty, and could talk as a Christian brother, and that he rejoiced to see their constancy, and hoped that they would continue as they had begun and would fear no threats, for God was strong enough to protect them, and they would not lack

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 306.

friends so long as they kept from tumult and sedition, as he hoped they would.¹ Grand ladies began to drive out to the meetings in their coaches. The "Martinists" as the Lutherans called themselves, were quiet in behaviour and held few meetings and did not publish many books. The Anabaptists' meetings were larger than those of the Lutherans, but were secret, for the sect was hated by all citizens who owned any property. In most towns there were very few Lutherans or Anabaptists, and the former in Antwerp were not many and for the most part were to be found among the Germans engaged in business.

Many people, of course, went out to the Calvinist meetings from curiosity, but more were attracted by the singing of psalms in French translations by Clement Marot and Theodore de Bèze, or in Flemish by Lucas de Heere and Dathenus. Above all, it was the preaching which proved the greatest attraction, for the ministers flew at all things and played on the emotions of their hearers and on their passions, and began to urge revolution in Church and State.² The Antwerp merchants, especially those from Spain and Italy, became more and more alarmed by what the holders of the new religions were doing, and it was becoming difficult to raise money on the Bourse. The clergy expected a massacre, and the Abbot of the Abbey of St. Michael in Cloister Street asked in vain to be allowed to take an armed guard into his service.

To go in arms to a *prêche* was contrary to the arrangement made with the Regent at the time of the Request, for the nobles had undertaken not to tolerate any scandal tending to upset the repose of the State.³

The size of the meetings at the end of June showed that it was too late to stop them by force. In the old days the Military Guilds were sometimes called out to break up such assemblies, but men's views had changed lately, and formerly two or three hundred had been considered a large congregation.

Besides this, the Calvinists now went to meetings armed in imitation of their brethren in France, and they had become much more daring since the presentation of the Request. Jan van Immerseele told Margaret that he had not enough force to stop the meetings and that the sectaries were looking forward to a time when they would hold their meetings within the town itself. The most that could be done was to set a guard at the gates, and clerks to record the names of all strangers arriving, to prohibit singing, drum-beating, and pipe-playing in the streets, going in masks and in disguises at night, to make innkeepers report their guests, and to continue to prohibit preaching and attending these meetings, armed or unarmed. The Broad Council did good work

¹ Same, p. 309.

² Pirenne, "Histoire de Belgique," Vol. III, p. 411, etc.

³ Groen, Series I, Vol. II, p. 80, etc., and p. 128.

in the way of preserving order, but its advice was limited to the best way the meetings might be kept out of the town, and to preserving order among the armed men going to and from. The Council said the meetings outside the town were no affair of theirs. The great fear of the Regent and the magistrates was that Huguenot leaders might get into the town; indeed, some were arrested in Brabant and sent back to France.

At all times Antwerp sheltered many Frenchmen who had come for the purpose of going through a business training and to learn languages, but besides these and the French merchants now came outlaws, paupers, and thieves—to say nothing of the Calvinists from the Walloon Provinces. Some danger to the town was looked for from the French “*Pour noz hostez le nerf de la guerre,*” as it was said. Special efforts were made to hunt out the French. By a Frenchman was sometimes meant one who came from one of the Walloon Provinces, where French was spoken, but the French now feared in the town were Huguenot refugees from France.

On the 2nd of July a Request was presented through the wyckmasters¹ to the magistrates on behalf of the *poorters* and other residents, asking for freedom to follow the new religions, saying that their devotees were now too many to meet only in secret as they had done in times past, and demanding a site inside the town on which they might build a temple, and it was contended, surprising as it may sound, that experiments in France and Germany showed that two or more religions exercised together in the same country or town tended rather to draw people together than to cause quarrels.²

An incident which arose at one of the meetings lent point to the request for greater security. At the beginning of the Flemish sermon a great tumult arose because someone had fired a pistol, and a panic began a little later when some Italians riding past also fired their pistols, and in the stampede which resulted many lost their caps, cloaks, and shoes, and one man fell from a tree and broke his leg. Some Walloons at another meeting close by became alarmed and also fired pistols, which they carried under their cloaks, fearing they were going to be attacked by the Flemish meeting. It was usual to put the women in the middle of the congregation for safety, while the preacher stood on a stool or on the steps of a house or a mill, and wherever he could; the armed men—some mounted—were posted on the outskirts of the crowd, and the approaches were blocked with carts.

The magistrates did not like this Request at all and again prohibited the meetings. On her part the Regent issued a placard promising a hanging and confiscation of goods to anyone

¹ A “wyckmaster” was the chief of one of the “wycks” or “quarters” into which the town was divided.

² Bor, folio 51.

who preached, and banishment to those who went armed to meetings. She was anxious to fall in with the wish of the magistrates that she should come to Antwerp—which seemed to the wyckmasters and the merchants the only way to keep things quiet—but she wanted to send Orange and Egmont before her to prepare for her reception by stopping the armed meetings, for she felt she would not be safe there while they went on, and she was not disposed to enter with no other force than her body-guard. A rumour was soon afloat that she was coming to restore order by force and there was great uneasiness.

On the 4th of July, Louis of Nassau, Brederode, Culembourg, and other Confederates met at Lierre, ten miles from the town, and Louis and Brederode urged that they should seize Antwerp, and they would have made an attempt had not Orange once more refused to join them. But while Louis was away at Brussels consulting his brother, Brederode went on to Antwerp, for he had heard that the Count of Meghem, one of the most loyal to the Government, had been sent there by the Regent and that a garrison was to be introduced. At nine o'clock on the next morning—the 5th of July, which was a Friday—a pile of shavings caught fire in a carpenter's shop in the present rue aux Lits, between the Egg and Shoe Markets, close to Our Lady's Church. Great excitement ensued and cries arose that the town was betrayed. A mob ran into the Egg Market shouting: "Slay dead, slay dead," and the shopkeepers, fearing murder and plunder, fortified themselves in their houses. Some in their terror ran for shelter into Our Lady's Church while High Mass was going on, just at the moment when the vergers were closing the doors to catch a thief who had been at work inside, and so all was thrown into confusion there too. Clergy and congregation alike thought they were being besieged by the sectaries. The town gates were closed until the evening, and then only the Red and St. George's Gates were opened, for in the afternoon there was a fresh panic caused by some masonry falling from the gutted structure and killing a few people in the street. It was while the town was in full panic that the Great Beggar appeared before St. George's gate with Culembourg and other gentlemen and some two hundred horsemen, all wearing the Beggars' liveries. He and some forty others rode to the "Red Lion." He addressed a mob outside from a window, goblet in hand, and told them he would give his life and goods to the cause of delivering his Antwerp friends from the Inquisitors and the placards, and called on those who would stand by him to raise their hands, which all present seemed to do, and he drank to them. In the evening he posted *poorters* at the gates instead of some soldiers the magistrates had taken into their service, and gave a watchword. Great was the fear of the people that the magistrates intended to overpower them with troops brought

in from outside, and Brederode wrote to Louis that he and his friends were in great danger of having their throats cut and that they slept on the *qui vive* "like *lansquenets*," and professed to be staying only to keep an eye on Meghem until Orange came, who, he hoped, would hold the town for the Confederates. Even the English in the town were looking on Orange as the chief defender of the people against Philip.

On the 6th of July, the Broad Council decided to leave the gates to the care of the *poorters* so that confidence might be restored; but in the evening came a report that there were a number of *reiters* and *lansquenets* near the town, who, it was said, were to be brought into it. It was feared that they were part of the mercenary force which the Duke of Brunswick was said to have raised in Germany and to have sent into Brabant for Margaret, or else that they were from the garrison of Lierre. The townspeople suspected that Meghem, who had arrived, would help the magistrates to introduce these troops, and while he was at the Town House conferring with them a crowd of some three hundred of the worst kind of roughs collected in the Market Place and sang psalms and songs. Suspicion arose out of Meghem's unpopularity, for he was hated as one who had joined the Confederates only to report to Margaret what they planned. It was thought that the Count of Arenberg was bringing a force to join Meghem, and that when the town was firmly held Margaret would come to suppress the preaching. As a matter of fact, Meghem had only been passing through the town on a journey, but would have been delighted to introduce a garrison if he had had the chance of doing so. The crowd wandered from the Market Place through the streets, and quiet citizens passed the night indoors consumed by anxiety. Alarmists ran from house to house saying that two men, set on to the work by the clergy, had approached Brederode, who was posing as the protector of the town and was keeping open house at the "Red Lion," and getting close to him under cover of a desire to present a petition had made an attempt on his life, but that their pistols had missed fire. The Jesuits were always suspected of having a hand in any attempt to murder a Protestant leader, and the few of the Society who were in the town were in hourly expectation of vengeance being taken on them. Every one in the town expected that some party to which he did not belong was planning to massacre him and his friends. John Keyle wrote, "Armuert and wepones ar as fast boght upe hier as drinke is drunke upe, which is fast inogh."¹ About this time another Request was presented by the sectaries, complaining that no answer to the other had been received, and again stating that they would cease to go armed to the sermons when places were assigned to them in which they could meet in security. Every day fewer

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 313.



PORTRAIT OF MARGARET OF AUSTRIA
PAINTED BY ANTONIO MORO ABOUT 1560, NOW AT BERLIN

people went to the churches and more to the hedge-preaching.

The magistrates sent Wesenbeke, the Pensionary, over to Brussels to urge the Regent to withdraw Meghem and to order Brederode to depart. She removed Meghem, but Brederode stayed on, spending much more money on the Calvinists than his circumstances seemed to warrant.

In spite of the prohibition, the sectaries went out of the Kipdorp Gate to the Laer on the morning of Sunday the 7th of July in even greater numbers than before, and they were well armed with pistols and boar spears. Clerks had been stationed at the gates by the authorities to take the names of those going out, but the crowd was so great that the task was impossible. The people went out through the gate almost in a mass and took no heed of the questions asked them by the clerks, or else simply cried out "*Incris-moi! Incris-moi!*" in a fever to get the formality over and be at the meeting, so that a ridiculous confusion resulted and the officials shut up their ink-bottles and threw their lists to the wind. One minister preached in French and two in Flemish. Before noon it began to rain very heavily, but the *prêche* continued. Many more went out in the afternoon to hear a sermon in French or another in Flemish. On the afternoon of this Sunday the encouragement which Brederode's presence was giving to the most offensive kind of Calvinist was shown by the act of a tipsy tailor, who went into the Grey Friars' cloister and into the church and shouted, "Long live the Gueux," while the preacher was actually in the pulpit delivering himself of a sermon. The congregation fled in panic, not even waiting to snatch up their hats or mantles from their seats and some losing their shoes as they ran. The tailor had probably chosen the Grey Friars' Church for the scene of his indecent conduct because the preacher was quite the best of those who attempted to refute the doctrines of those who followed the "new religion." He was a Frenchman from Orleans and had become notorious for attacks he had made from the pulpit on Queen Elizabeth. A scene of much the same kind was provoked about the same time in St. James's Church by a heretic worrying an old beggar-woman during sermon-time.

The nerves of the people had got into so bad a state that there would be a panic two or three times an hour, and tradesmen would shut up their shops. Rich people hurried off their splendid furniture, tapestry, and household stuff to Malines; jewellers tried to send their goods to Cologne, and the magistrates took steps to prevent so much wealth leaving the town.

On the Monday night—the 8th of July—there was a panic rather more serious than usual. It was said some *reiters* had got into the town or were going to try to get in. The watch

went round and called people up from their beds to hang lanterns over their doors and to stand in the street before their houses, gun in hand. Richard Clough wrote to Gresham that the people thought some of the magistrates would betray them to Margaret's troops. Those who were most distrusted were the Margrave (Jan van Immerseele), Hendrik van Berchem (the Chief Burgomaster, who was known to have been Cardinalist), Lancelot van Ursel, and Jan van Schoonhoven. Anthony van Straelen had come out of the office of Chief Burgomaster in May and was now at Brussels—his enemies said keeping out of the way and pretending to be ill, having had a lot to do with all the trouble. As for the Beggars, Brederode rode about the streets with a guard of two or three hundred horsemen, followed by a crowd of sight-seers and, to Margaret's disgust, some of the magistrates entertained him at the Town House. Louis of Nassau paid several visits to the town, and Culembourg and other leaders came and went. When he was drunk Brederode said that all the trouble was not of his making, but that he would one day say whose it was. Every one talked of what would be the result of the forthcoming meeting of the Confederates at St. Trond, adjourned from Lierre. Clough wrote, "Wee shalle here som strange newsse." As Margaret had foreseen, Antwerp's example was followed by other towns, and there were outbreaks of preaching at Brussels, Malines, Lierre, Bergen-op-Zoom, Ghent, Hoogstraeten, Turnhout, Gheel, and elsewhere. Orange had told his brother Louis to prompt the Broad Council of Antwerp to ask the Regent to send him alone, and not with Egmont, to take care of the town and preserve order there, as hereditary Burgrave. The Broad Council made this request of Margaret, saying that with their Burgrave in the town all would be well without the presence of a garrison. The magistrates had no doubt that if a garrison was introduced there would soon not be an ecclesiastic left alive. The canons of Our Lady's Church found bills on their front door with the warning, "God's order is that priests and monks be massacred and these bigots of canons hanged."

It was quite time that some man came to the town who was strong enough and so situated with all parties as to be able to preserve order. Hardly any business was being done and men were beginning to appear who looked like captains and old soldiers who had come in the expectation that there would soon be work for them. Some of the foreign merchants applied to the King of France for such privileges in one of the maritime towns in his realm as they had hitherto enjoyed at Antwerp. The postmaster was not carrying half the usual weight of correspondence to Italy. All payments on Bourse had ceased. It was suggested that the rich inhabitants should pay a large sum down to buy the right to exercise the religion they preferred.

When again asked by Margaret to go to Antwerp, Orange consented. He was to have full authority and was not to ride as harbinger to prepare Madame's lodging. Before starting he warned her that he would not be able to stop the preaching.

On Saturday afternoon, the 13th of July, Orange approached the town from Brussels, and Brederode with some three hundred of his Beggars rode out to meet him and bring him to St. George's Gate. Along the Berchem road on any bit of rising ground they could find, round the gate, on the walls, along the streets, stood the citizens who had turned out to welcome him to the number of thirty thousand. They shouted, "Long live The Beggar," which cry appeared to displease him; they sang Calvinist psalms, hailed him as Burgrave, as their liberator, as the preserver of peace for them, and he could hardly force his way through the throng to his lodging in the House of Aachen, which was where the Jesuits' House is now.¹ Next morning Brederode departed to St. Trond and several Antwerp merchants followed him to attend the meeting of the Confederates.

William of Orange was at this time thirty-three years old. Margaret had still complete confidence in him and wrote to Philip saying that he was the most suitable man to send to Antwerp, and that he had promised to do his best to restore order and make business possible, and, if he could, stop the preaching, and that he would hold the town in its devotion to the King.²

There was no such officer as Governor of Antwerp, and Orange went there as Burgrave, or rather as a friend of the town, to see how order could be restored. He distrusted the Calvinists at this time and hated the Anabaptists, but was himself secretly inclining towards the doctrines of Luther. As yet he was more likely to prove hostile to Philip on political grounds than religious. He was the greatest man in the Netherlands, and even after Granvelle's departure and his return to the Council there was not enough scope for his powers. Margaret had already been advised that the best way to quiet the Confederates was to give them occupation by persuading the Emperor to raise a thousand horse in the Netherlands for the war in Hungary and to give the command to the Count of Hoogstraeten, with Louis of Nassau for lieutenant.³ Some honourable and lucrative post in Spain should have been found for William. On the night of his arrival he conferred with the magistrates as to how they could quiet the town, persuade merchants to remain in it, and put a stop to the preaching, and he followed this up by consulting the wyckmasters, the deans of guilds, the foreign merchants, and the ecclesiastics and other important citizens, including the leaders

¹ The House of Aachen, or of Aix, was built in 1539 by Erasmus Schetz on the old depot of the Aix merchants.

² Reiffenberg, "M. d'A.," p. 83, etc.
Gachard, "Philip," Vol. I, p. 408.

of the sectaries. He asked the Broad Council to raise twelve hundred men, to be in the pay of the town, to preserve order and to give confidence to traders, but the Council would not consent. As for the preaching, it was now recognized that it was too popular to be entirely suppressed, but it was hoped that those who attended could be persuaded to go unarmed. Enough men now went armed to each *prêche* to seize the town if they wished to, even if it had had a garrison of usual strength. Orange's view was that an assurance of forgiveness for past offences might induce them to disarm. He kept dangerous people quiet by finding work for two thousand unemployed.

On the morning after his arrival, which was a Sunday, over twenty-five thousand people, including many of his own train, attended sermons at the Laer—more than ever before, and many of them were armed. One of the sermons was in French and two in Flemish, and they were directed against the ecclesiastical state, the Seven Holy Sacraments, Mass, pilgrimages, indulgences, and the old Roman Apostolic Religion in general. There was preaching in the afternoon as well as in the morning. The magistrates posted three hundred burghers at the gates and on the bridges over the canals.

On the next day, Monday the 15th of July, an even greater number went out to the Laer to hear the Flemish preacher, who now began to baptize children with ditch-water and without any use of holy oil, simply saying, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."¹

The Confederates at St. Trond felt they were seriously handicapped by the secession of Egmont, without whom military operations were likely to be of little value, but it was decided to raise troops and strike before Margaret was ready. It was known that Philip was preparing an army in Naples, Sicily, Milan, Sardinia, and Germany. The force contemplated by the Confederates was to be raised in Germany with gold supplied by rich Antwerp and Flemish merchants, and was to amount to thirty thousand men. The Confederates took the sectaries under their protection in matters of religion until the States-General should meet to decide all disputes, but they exhorted them to behave properly and not to go armed to sermons. When news of this resolution reached Antwerp, bills appeared on church doors and in public places, saying that leave had been given to the sectaries to live according to their faith, provided they remained loyal to the King and obedient to the magistrates and stirred up no trouble. No such permission had been given by the Court or by the magistrates.

On the 18th of July, a deputation of the Confederates met Orange and Egmont, who appeared on behalf of the Regent, at

¹ "Antwerpsch Chronykje," p. 75.

Duffle, a town chosen for its proximity to Antwerp, which Orange hardly dared to leave lest something should happen during his absence.

Orange and Egmont were charged by Margaret to demand that field-preaching should cease. The Confederates showed how little they could do towards fulfilling such a demand, but stated that the present condition of affairs was mainly due to the fear among the sectaries that they would be attacked. A second Request was drawn up and was presented to the Regent by the Confederates on the 30th of July, complaining that the placards had not been softened, as promised. Orange had returned to Antwerp on the evening of the 18th of July after the conference with the Confederates. Whether it was due to what he had heard there or not we do not know, but it was noticed that from that time he changed in manner and that he showed himself taking the part of the Gueux, whose badges, dishes, and bowls his followers wore.¹

The Broad Council had been given until the 19th of July to consider how the preaching could best be stopped, and on that day they returned answer that the matter was too difficult for them to advise on, but that they put themselves under the guidance of the States-General and the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Their difficulties were increased by the circumstance that by now ministers were preaching secretly in the town itself. Orange then, on Saturday the 20th of July, through the wyckmasters, the deans of the Military Guilds, and other leading citizens, tried by persuasion, joined with commands, to induce at least the more order-loving of the inhabitants not to go out to sermons any more, but the vast majority of the sectaries were not willing that the preaching should be stopped even pending the proposed meeting of the States-General.

An incident which occurred on Friday the 19th of July went far towards undoing Orange's good work, for in the evening of that day the Drossart of Brabant, by an unfortunate chance, passed close to the walls of Antwerp on his way to his home at Mercxem, and this was more than enough to spread the report that he was about to fall upon the congregation on the Sunday. Orange and the magistrates sent to the Court asking that nothing of the sort should be attempted, with the result that the Drossart disappeared early on the Sunday morning; but of course this gave the sectaries the best possible excuse for carrying arms. Such excitement prevailed on the Saturday that two hundred cuirasses were bought to furnish the guard for the congregation. Such fears of the Drossart were really groundless, for his force consisted of only a few. His business was with vagabonds and thieves and he had no jurisdiction in the town; but if he thought

¹ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1566-68, No. 582.

he had enough men he would sometimes cut up a gathering of heretics met for sermon and psalm-singing.

If the French sermon on the Laer on the Sunday morning—the 21st of July—was less well attended, more than usual went armed to it, and these were not men who had armed for their own defence, but were hired by rich men—mostly such as had come hither from Lille and Tournay and other French and Walloon towns in which Calvinism was rife. Each of the hired men received ten or twelve stivers a day and each *prêche* cost in this way four to five hundred gulden.¹ Next morning the Calvinist preacher again baptized and performed the marriage ceremony, and a sermon followed. Whereas the meetings had at first been held almost solely on Sundays, Saturdays, and holidays, they were now on any day, and were attended by many who before the religious troubles had upset the town would have been busy in office or workshop, and by some who served masters who made such attendance a term of their employment. The least thing was enough to throw the whole gathering into commotion—for instance, the discovery of a cut-purse among them. We get an idea of the scene from the pictures of some of the painters of the time, contemporary with Brueghel, who depicted Christ or St. John preaching to the multitude.

At the end of the month permission was given to the parish priest of Kiel to preach in the church of that recently established parish, although he had been deprived by the Bishop of Cambray on account of his utterances concerning Luther's doctrines. The magistrates had seen their chance of throwing an apple of discord among the Protestants by allowing this *curé* to return and preach his doctrines, for to him resorted the Lutherans, who were of the better class of citizen and few in number, and whose quiet behaviour when they did hold a public meeting might well be rewarded by leave to use the church at Kiel, which was not far outside the Kroonenburg Gate. The Calvinists would, no doubt, resent this favouritism and their resentment would make the two sects enemies. The Anabaptists had not risen in men's estimation along with the flood of new religions. When they met it had still to be secretly—not more than three or four hundred at a time—and that at three or four o'clock in the morning in a building opposite the house of the Easterlings in the New Town.

After some discussion the Broad Council invited Orange to become a dictator in the town during the unrest, and of this Margaret approved.

On Sunday the 28th of July, nine or ten thousand persons went to the preaching, men, women, and children, and two hundred of them were armed with arquebuses, halberds, or spears. A new preacher preached that afternoon. By the end of July the

¹ "Antwerpsch Chronykje," p. 77.

Council of State agreed that the plan suggested by Orange was the only one which would stop the concourse of armed men, and gave him leave to promise pardon in the name of the King to all those who had attended meetings, whether armed or unarmed, provided they abstained from going to any more. Those who continued to attend were to be noted for punishment. Nothing could have been fairer, and at the request of Orange and the Almoners¹ of the town a pardon was granted even to some Anabaptists who had repented, and this condescension did much to restore confidence.

Orange had reduced the meetings to a much smaller size, and the people had begun to go without weapons in anticipation of the States-General being summoned to settle matters, when, on the very day on which the above pardon was sent to Orange—the last day of July—the Drossart of Brabant appeared again and anxiety returned. Philip had issued circulars to the officers of the Bands of Ordonnance ordering them to put themselves at the Regent's service if called up for the purpose of overwhelming the heretics, but it was impossible to use the Bands for such a purpose. Margaret wrote to Philip that things were getting worse and that nothing now remained but for the heretics to assemble and sack churches, towns, and villages, for she could offer no resistance—having neither money nor men—and could only rely on such help as God might be induced to give, or on the quieting effect of sermons delivered by the clergy. She agreed with Orange and the magistrates that the only way to hold Antwerp was to raise some companies of citizen soldiers, but to that the Broad Council continued to withhold its consent. She urged Philip to send his answer at once with regard to the summoning of the States-General, for, she said, what might be of use then might be of none “in three weeks' time.”² Philip was writing on the same day expressing his surprise that affairs in the Netherlands had reached such a pass so quickly, and saying that he had never intended that the suppression of heresy should be more rigorous than it had been in his father's time. He said he felt that the Inquisition was a necessary institution as in it lay the only means the Church had of forcing its rules of life on unwilling people—a thing very necessary to do, he thought, as otherwise men might live as seemed to them good—but that he was willing to concede that the Inquisition should cease when the new bishoprics were in full swing in all the Provinces, and he promised that the placards should then be modified and a General Pardon accorded.³

Of course the King was only playing for time in which to raise troops and end the troubles in his own way. He informed

¹ The Almoners were “fathers of the poor.”

² Reiffenberg, “M. d'A.,” p. 121, etc.

³ Same, p. 99, etc.

the Pope that he was going to behave as a "Christian and God-fearing Prince" was bound to do.

So ended July of this eventful year. In the first week in August twenty thousand persons were going out to the meetings and it was being said that the Beggars had bought up all the horses in the Provinces.

Had Philip given way on the three points at once, that is to say, if he had withdrawn the Inquisition, had moderated the placards, and had granted a General Pardon for past offences, all might have been well again. There would, no doubt, have been some extremists who would still have held out, but Egmont and others of the more moderate would have armed against them.

On the 7th of August a drunken wheelbarrow-man went up to a lay brother of the Grey Friars near the "Red Lion" in Brewers' Street, pulled him along by his collar, and tried to tie him by it to the stakes at the edge of Our Lady's churchyard. A great tumult arose in the churchyard and in the neighbouring streets, and the brother escaped while the porter was being arrested by the Margrave's men.

We have already referred to the permission given to the Lutheran *curé* of Kiel to preach in his parish church. Three or four thousand hearers at once began to go to his meetings. On the 10th of August, Doctor Cunerus, a famous theologian and preacher of Louvain, came over to Antwerp with another priest, disguised in a long German mantle to look like a heretic preacher, and going to Kiel found a very large congregation listening to the *curé's* address. At the end of it Cunerus began a public disputation concerning articles of faith with the *curé*, until a disturbance arose against him and he would have been killed in it if someone had not hustled him and his friend into a mean house close by, where they hid in a dark cellar, with water up to their ankles, until the trouble had blown over, when they were sent by boat to St. Bernard's Abbey higher up the Scheldt.

Another commotion arose on the same day because the Margrave had taken his gun away from a man on his way back from a *prêche*. It was really hardly worth while for a tradesman to open his shop, for it was almost certain there would be some sort of uproar before the day was over, and most people loafed about the town and the roads leading out of it so as not to miss any remarkable event. There was a feeling that things would not improve until the August Omgang was over, for it was common talk that the Catholics had planned something against the heretics for that season. This Omgang always took place on the Sunday following the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, and fell that year on the 18th of August. In this Omgang, or Procession, the miraculous image of the Virgin, the patroness

of the town, was carried shoulder-high from the great church along the neighbouring streets. In the procession went the clergy of Our Lady's Church, the canons of St. Michael's Abbey, the magistrates, and all the monks and nuns, the members of the Trade Guilds and the Military Guilds and wagons carrying figures representing scenes from Biblical history or the lives of the saints. A disturbance was all the more likely at this festival because the heretics hated the cult of the Virgin, and there was always more drunkenness and rowdiness then than at any other time. Margaret of Parma was summoning the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece to meet at Brussels on the 18th of August, and she told Orange to attend, but he insisted that he must remain in Antwerp until after the Omgang. He said a lieutenant must be appointed for his absence, and the Broad Council said they would prefer Anthony van Straelen, who was certainly the most popular man in Antwerp; or, if Orange had to be away for long, the Count of Horn, who, although not universally popular, always found favour in this town; or else the Count of Hoogstraeten. The Council felt that the Margrave and the magistrates had enough to do in their own offices, and more energy was sought in vain from the former.

On the 13th of August a guard was posted at each of the bridges over the canals in the town, and at the gates to prevent anyone going out to a *prêche*. The bridges were held as being in almost every case an important turning or corner, wider than the streets, which might be a place of muster for evilly disposed persons, who could then steal unobserved in the direction they had planned, or the bridges themselves could be easily defended. On this day a wagon was making its way out of the town by the Red Gate when it was stopped by the townsmen on guard there, and an examination proved it to be laden with arms. It was, as a matter of fact, one of four on their way to the Drossart's house at Mercxem, the arms having been recently given up by soldiers on being disbanded. The cry was however raised that soldiers were hidden outside the town and that the weapons were on their way to them. It was rumoured that on a signal given by the bell of the great church they were to assemble and traitors in the town were to throw open the gates. No doubt there were peace-loving citizens who would have liked to see a garrison in the town—even of Spaniards—and a castle built to keep all quiet, but this wagon-load of arms could easily be accounted for. Anyway the agitators had got their chance and did not miss it. The Calvinist minister, Herman Modet, who was now the chief preacher at the Laer, told his followers that it was no longer safe to meet outside the town, and he promised them on his own authority that on the 15th of August, the day of the Feast of the Assumption, they should be allowed to meet in the

New Town. Orange heard on the night of the 14th that he intended to preach next day at the house of the Hessian merchants. He sent for Modet and some of his chief adherents at once, about midnight, and entreated them to refrain from preaching in any place not hitherto so used, until the Regent's answer to the last Request arrived.

Next day—that of the Feast of the Assumption—Modet and his Calvinists held a *prêche*, not in the town, but at the Laer, and went armed; indeed, this seems to have been conceded to them because of the trouble about the wagon. The Military Guilds were kept under arms in their Chambers, and the day passed off quietly, which was fortunate, for very bad news had reached the town from West Flanders. Round Ypres a mob, “full of thieves,” had sacked abbeys and cloisters and had burnt libraries and demolished churches. This fury had appeared on the 14th of August—the day before the Feast of the Assumption—and it spread over all Flanders. In four days four hundred churches and monasteries were sacked or destroyed. Pontus Payen remarks how slack the Catholics were as a rule in opposing these fanatics and robbers, and says it was sometimes through fear that they might thereby lose their own goods—a fear which could not actuate the heretics, for most of them had none.

Every one at Antwerp must have foreseen what was going to happen, and yet Orange and the magistrates took insufficient precautions against it—not that they had any disciplined force which would have enabled them entirely to hold in check a serious disturbance or to defend church property against a determined attack by thousands in arms, but in Antwerp, had they known it, those who would pillage were only a few score. When armed resistance was offered to the image-breakers in other places they usually turned tail before a few; but on the day before the Feast of the Assumption an ordinance was drawn up forbidding citizens to carry arms—an order which was too strictly obeyed by those who might have opposed the Calvinists—but it can hardly be just to Orange to say that he foresaw that these milder citizens would thus stand idly by and let the Calvinists have their own way, and that it was part of a clever plan. The policy of the magistrates earned the reputation of being framed to please everybody, with the result that both Catholics and Protestants mistrusted and found fault with it.

How the Regent could have been so ill advised as to call Orange to Brussels at this time passes comprehension, and has led Catholic authors to suppose that it was his wish to go and to leave the town to the misfortunes which he knew his temporary absence would make possible. No one had been appointed to fill his place while he was away, and he determined to wait over the Omgang. All through the month lampoons on the Catholics had been sold at the Bourse, which anyone might see could only

lead to some uproar : not only sold by vagabond pedlars, but by apprentices sent from the printers' offices in the town.

Just at Omgang-time the town was always full of sightseers, and to these were now added a number of people of all sorts, thrown out of work through the little business which had been done for the last three or four years and put in need by the great scarcity. Practically all the counting-houses and shops were closed. Idle men and women linked arms and paraded the streets singing Calvinist hymns, and they were made all the more rebellious by the knowledge that the price of grain had risen by two shillings the sack in two days, and the speculators were roundly cursed for it.

On the morning of Sunday the 18th of August, the Omgang started from Our Lady's Church as usual, but it was noticed that the Military Guildsmen wore their armour. This was said to be only in honour of the Princess of Orange, who watched the Procession with the Prince from the windows of the Town House. Louis of Nassau and a number of ladies and gentlemen were there too, and they were not aware of the reception with which the Procession met in some places. No actual disturbance took place, but jeers and threats greeted the Image of the Virgin. "Mayken, you go-between, this is your last Omgang," alluding to her part of intercessor; "Hail, Mayken, the carpenter's wife"; "Better Turk than Papist"; "It's all idolatry." Any jest was good enough so long as it held the cult of the Virgin up to ridicule, and some shouted they would burn the image itself, and a few small things were actually thrown at it. The ecclesiastics and monks were, of course, made into laughing-stocks. Peace-loving people were thankful when the procession had got safely back to the church. The image was put in the nave, where it usually stood at this festival, and a few came to sneer at it, but all seemed so quiet that next morning Orange went to Brussels, as ordered by Margaret. No sooner had he started than Calvinists and Lutherans began to preach at several places in the town.

A number of holiday idlers wandered into Our Lady's Church, and stood jeering at the image, so that the clergy decided to put it back in the Lady Chapel instead of leaving it in the nave for a week, as was the custom. Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon a lad of seventeen or eighteen, dressed in a shabby black gown and a straw hat, and rather drunk—as some thought—climbed into the pulpit and told those standing by that he was filled with the Holy Ghost, whose emissary he was. He said that priests were rascals and many other offensive things. A merry crowd encouraged him, finding his performance amusing, but a young sailor ran up into the pulpit and seized the mock preacher, and down the steps they fell, fighting as they went. The sailor was the more powerful, and his opponent, feeling that

his chances at grips with him were small, snatched at the stool in the pulpit on which priests stood, if of low stature, in the hope that a blow on the other's head with it might give him the victory, but it was fastened to the floor and he was roughly handled before the bystanders interfered and pitched him out into the churchyard. Some would have killed the sailor for his ill-treatment of a reformer, and he did receive a wound or two. Although this affair was not of very much importance the magistrates sent a report of it to Orange that very evening. No steps seem to have been taken, however, to keep the Military Guilds under arms that night, or to guard the churches and cloisters, but next day the magistrates sent Wesenbeke, the Pensionary, to consult Orange, for they felt something was going to happen, and they summoned the Broad Council, but nothing was actually done to protect life and property in the event of such an outbreak as had occurred in Flanders, and they did not even close Our Lady's Church.

On Tuesday the 20th of August, about the time of Vespers a great crowd collected in the churchyard. Inside the church were those whom daily custom brought either to worship or to walk about, but the chief part of the crowd, whether within or without, was composed of boys and rascals, who had no intention of seeking any consolation the clergy had to offer.

Again jokes and sneers were thrown at the images, especially at that of the Virgin, who was rallied through the bars of her chapel about her retreat from the nave. An old woman who had a stall before the door of the church for the sale of wax candles to be lighted before the image reproved the crowd for its behaviour, and some boys answered that her business would soon be gone, together with the cult of images. She lost her temper and threw at them the ashes from the fire-kettle she kept to light the candles. This small incident increased the excitement already spreading among the people. Something was going to happen, and, as the crowd continued to grow, the vergers, becoming alarmed, sent for the Margrave, and he came down with half a dozen halberdiers and called on the crowd to disperse. Some went home, some said they were waiting to hear lauds, as they were called in Antwerp, or complins, as in England, but most simply hung about without excuse to see what was going to happen, and perhaps to take part in mischief, if it were to their taste. It was announced that there would be no lauds that evening, but this sent few away, and voices cried that they would, under those circumstances, sing them for themselves, which they proceeded to do, but by singing one of their own psalms. Someone in the church threw a stone, then someone else threw another, and in a moment half the crowd were searching for missiles. Some windows were broken, and some of the images high up on the walls were damaged, and then the altars were

pelted as a cruel temper seized the mob and grew by what it fed on. The noise inside the church told those outside what sort of work was going on, and some ran in to join in it. The clergy had fled by this time, and a dying baby brought in a hurry to be christened was taken away again for lack of a priest. A man ran across the Market Place to the Town House and brought down Jan van Immerseele again with some of the magistrates, but driving out rioters from the church appealed to the Margrave as little as of late years the burning of heretics had done, so the party retired with the halberdiers, but before doing so closed all the doors but one. They left part of the mob inside the church and part outside. What could the Margrave do? The crowd was not composed of such people as would be persuaded by words to go home quietly just to please the magistrates and the Margrave, and it had grown by now to five or six thousand people. The magistrates thought they would be lucky if the Town House was not taken, and so they retired to it and called out the Military Guilds and kept them under arms in their Guild-houses on the Market Place and wherever convenient. The singing began again as soon as the magistrates had left the church, and this time it was louder than before, and those outside took it up, and more ran into the church. The Margrave seems to have supposed that those in the church would go quietly out of the door he had left open and that no more would run in. The chronicler says that Herman Modet now appeared in the church and shouted, "Long live the Beggars," and went into the pulpit, and that seeing him there the mob roared out their psalms louder than ever; that he spoke of idolatry, expressly ordering them to break the images of saints in pieces and tear down the decorations of the church.¹ Anyway, a rush was made for the Lady Chapel, and the Virgin's image was overthrown and hacked at and stripped of the fine clothing, and then the rabble ran about the great building working the like destruction, so that by midnight every chapel of this church—the most sumptuously furnished of all north of the Alps—was wrecked, the altars thrown down, the statues pulled to the ground, and broken in pieces. The beautiful tabernacle which sheltered the Host was demolished and its contents stamped under foot. The tabernacle itself had been considered the most beautiful thing in the church: standing on a single column, a lantern rose in pyramids to the church's roof. Now men filled holy vessels with consecrated wine and drank to the health of the Beggars. They greased their shoes with the Chrism. After it was all over a man found a little silver box in the mud in a street close by containing a hundred wafers which the priests feared had been consecrated. The famous old latten font was bashed out of shape. Men, and women too, hacked the limbs off figures of

¹ Bertryn, "Chronyck der Stadt Antwerpen," p. 131.

saints and threw down the carved altar-pieces. With rapiers they pierced pictures painted by Flemish painters of the greatest fame, including a "Crucifixion" by Quentin Metsys and an "Assumption" by Franz Floris. Harlots seized the candles from the altars and held them to light men while they worked. Some climbed on altars and kicked down the crosses and the sacred vessels. Ladders were brought to reach to the organ, said to be the finest in the world, and it was torn in pieces, and long afterwards children blew tunes on its pipes in their homes. Even the larger marble statues of saints were torn from their niches and hurled on the pavement. Before he fled the Treasurer of the Chapter had locked up the most valuable things in the Treasury, near the north door, but a *kraankind*, or porter who worked at the crane on the wharf, broke down the door with a smith's hammer and the place was plundered.

Herman Modet himself was reported to have carried off the treasured relic of the Circumcision, and other relics usually kept in the High Choir. If he did so, he was, of course, moved by fanaticism rather than avarice. Someone took away a piece of the "True Cross," which had been an Emperor's gift, and others stole the jewels, chalices, patens, ciboria, jewelled crosses, candlesticks, costly vestments, and linen. Beautiful reliquaries were battered to pieces; music-books worth hundreds of gulden were destroyed. The account books and records of the Treasury were torn to pieces. Church benches, stools, chests, and even doors were broken up and carried off for firewood, and the whole building was profaned in unmentionable ways. The money found in the Treasury was carried off, and the Almoners' boxes were burst open and their contents—intended for the poor—were stolen. Even tombs were rifled for treasure. Seventy altars were destroyed—not three left in the church—and those destroyed included that of the Holy Sacrament, which had cost a mint of money and was not even then finished to the satisfaction of the donors. These pillagers behaved not like Christian men, but like Turks and Saracens.¹

The damage was estimated at 400,000 crowns, and every one was astonished that such destruction could have been wrought, as it was, by about one hundred persons in four hours. Catholics thought they must have been helped by devils, and that the success of the outrage was due to its having been well organized by the Confederates at St. Trond and carried out by hired roughs who destroyed objects without regard to their beauty, antiquity, or value. The magistrates regarded the affair as the result of a "malicious and secret conspiracy." Even Protestants could not find more than lame excuses for what had happened. There

¹ All the usual chroniclers and historians give accounts of these days in Antwerp.

can be no doubt that it was the work of roughs, many of them strangers to the town, and not to any great extent that of devout reformers, although the crowd which Jan van Immerseele found in the church when he came down was "of all qualities and sorts." The better part watched and seemed to protect the pillagers even if they did no more. Chiefly to blame was the preaching of such men as Modet, who, even if their words and doings have been exaggerated by Catholics, fed the ears of their followers with the Commandments given to the Israelites regarding images, and one of their loudest cries against the Council of Trent was that it had expressed itself in favour of the cult of images. Also the psalms of Marot ran on images, and the greatest hatred of them had been aroused.

From the great church the wreckers ran through the streets breaking down the little figures of Christ and the saints at street corners as they went by the light of church candles and tapers. They sacked the parish churches, the monasteries, the convents, the hospitals, and the chapels. They ran in small parties, sometimes not more than ten or twelve, and yet no efforts were made to oppose them, for it had been ordered, as has been said already, that none were to take arms, on pain of losing *poorterschap*, whatever uproar might occur, without the consent of Orange. As most of the things stolen from Our Lady's Church were carried off in sacks one may suppose that it would have been easy to recognize the plunder. It was four o'clock in the morning before the spoilers were satisfied with their night's work, and by that time twenty-five or thirty buildings had been despoiled and the mob had taken whatever they had found in them—meat, drink, household stuff, jewels, and what they could not carry off they stamped under foot. They swarmed down into the cellars and lapped up the wine and beer, and then rushed with their torches through the streets again crying all night, "Long live the Beggars."¹ Monks and nuns were chased from their cloisters and ran through the streets half naked to their friends' houses. The hated Grey Friars alone offered any resistance, and a few of them were injured.

The chief churches which suffered were those of Our Lady, St. Walburga, St. James, St. Andrew, and St. George, that is to say, all the parish churches; of the cloisters those of St. Michael, the Grey Friars, the Dominicans, Peter Pot's Men, the Boggaerds, the Poor Sisters of St. Clara, the Falcon Sisters, the White Sisters, the Black Sisters, the Nuns of the Third Order, and those known as "The Nuns." It was said you could not find a vestment in Antwerp for a priest to sing Mass in, and so complete was the stripping of Our Lady's Church that you could not find a thing to sit upon. In the parish and conventual churches the pillagers did not leave a gulden's worth of furniture, and

¹ "Antwerpsche Chronykje," p. 89.

brought barrows to carry away the wooden images for next winter's firewood.

All this time the magistrates had kept the Military Guilds in arms on the Market Place to protect them and the Town House.

Early next morning, the 21st of August, the Church of Our Lady was revisited by the rabble and an onslaught made on a great bronze crucifix above the rood-screen. Ropes were fastened to it and it was dragged to the ground and smashed to pieces. The two thieves on their crosses on each side were left standing. These figures were part of a beautiful Calvary group set up twenty years before. The wreckers hacked at the figure of Christ with hatchets and jumped upon it. Down went the twelve marble apostles on the pillars of the nave. While this was going on some damage was sustained by the coats-of-arms of the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which had hung in the choir since the last Chapter, and this tempted the magistrates at last to stop the work of destruction. With the help of some burghers the church was cleared and some dozen roughs made prisoners. An excursion was made by the pillagers to the Abbey of St. Bernard at Hemixen on the right bank of the Scheldt, a league and a half above the town, and this and all churches and monasteries along the road thither were plundered. Another party went in the direction of Lierre doing likewise. A new pastime was discovered. They took books from the libraries of the monasteries, greased them well with holy oil, and set them alight.

The magistrates sent again to Brussels to tell the Regent and Orange all that was happening, and to beg the latter to return. Margaret wanted to bolt from Brussels, for she feared Herman Modet would lead his followers against her. Orange sent word that he would return as soon as the Regent would let him, but he pointed out that he would not be able to do much good when he did come, because the suggestions he had already made had not been carried into effect, and he had not been allowed to raise the citizen soldiers who alone would ensure peace.

On Thursday the 22nd of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, Herman Modet went into the pulpit in Our Lady's, and after a psalm had been sung exhorted the people he found there to return the gold, silver, and jewels which had been taken from the churches. While he was preaching, Wesenbeke was on his way to the church to try on behalf of the magistrates to induce the Calvinist ministers to give up the Catholic churches, for they were in complete possession of them. In the churchyard he found Taffin, who went with him into the church to speak to Modet, and between them they persuaded him to cut short his sermon. Taffin likewise dismissed the congregation which was waiting for him in St. Walburga's Church on the riverside.



SUPPOSED PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE

PAINTED ABOUT 1555 BY ANTONIO MORO, AND NOW AT CASSEL. IT HAS BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO FRANZ POURBUS, FRANZ FLORIS, AND ADRIAN KEY

The Military Guilds were posted in the afternoon at various places round the great church, but many of the members left the ranks and joined the Calvinists, so that Modet found he could preach again in the church, and he promised the listeners they should hear him on the morrow, in spite of the magistrates' orders. He declared there would be trouble among the people if they were disappointed. Taffin was more considerate and behaved as one of the few ministers of good birth might have been expected to do. Modet was naturally proud of being the first reformer to preach in Our Lady's, and his arrogance became even greater than before and he presumed to baptize there as well.

The town was now waiting for Orange's return. A gallows was put up on the Market Place and a few thieves were taken in their beds. On Friday the 23rd of August, the magistrates ordered that all goods stolen from the churches, cloisters, convents, chapels, etc., should be returned to the wyckmasters within twenty-four hours,¹ and some valuable things were restored by people who had honestly concealed them to save them from people around them. It was also ordered that image-breaking should cease, but such a command, unless backed by force, was useless.

The Lutheran and Calvinist leaders declared they were willing to obey the magistrates and at the same time disowned the image-breakers and the church-spoilers, but they improved the occasion by demanding a place within the town at which to hold meetings and exercise their cults. By Orange's advice, places in the New Town were assigned to the Calvinists on their retreating from the churches and monasteries, and the Lutheran *curé* of Kiel was given possession of St. George's Parish Church, for Kiel was outside the walls and it was felt the good behaviour of the Lutherans entitled them to at least as much consideration as was being shown to the Calvinists.

An Accord was entered into on the 23rd of August between the Regent, acting on her own responsibility, and the Confederates, on the basis of preaching being allowed, if men went unarmed to hear it, at places at which it was already customary, but only until the King and the States-General should otherwise decide, the Confederates assisting the Government to restore and preserve order. Also the Confederacy was to be dissolved, Catholic services were not to be interrupted, and immunity for past conduct was promised to the Confederates. The whole Accord was to depend on the King's ratification. On the 26th of August, the Regent addressed a letter to the magistrates with the terms of the Accord. There was some fear that trouble would begin again on the Saturday and Sunday following this arrangement, and as Orange could not return himself he sent St. Aldegonde and

¹ "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I, p. 285; and II, p. 400.

de Hames. The Calvinists had hoped to meet on the Saturday afternoon in several of the churches, but finding them closed and guarded by the Military Guilds, they went into the New Town and held a *prêche* near the Easterlings' House. In the middle of it, St. Aldegonde and de Hames appeared and delivered a letter to the preacher signed by the Knights of the Fleece, who were at Court, begging the people to refrain from trying to meet in any of the churches and to be content to use suitable places in the New Town. The receipt of this letter caused great excitement, and the assurance that they had the Knights' word that they would be permitted to meet in the New Town was greeted with shouts of joy.¹ The letter was, in fact, a statement of the contents of the Accord with regard to the holding of meetings. The Military Guilds were kept under arms during the week-end, and there was no disturbance. On the 25th of August, the plunderers of the week before were declared outlaws.

Perhaps no event in the history of the Reformation in the Netherlands has been more distorted than this outburst of iconoclasm, Catholics and Protestants usually telling the story in their own way and colouring it, often unconsciously, to accord with what they have imagined would have taken place.

It is difficult to see the truth.

The clergy for generations had been becoming more and more unpopular as a class, and it was against them and the "cloisterlings" that the Protestants felt resentment, mainly for what was regarded as their deception of mankind. The Calvinist ministers had denounced the cult of images, and especially the cult of the Virgin, and had proclaimed such reverence to be idolatry. They would have openly approved of the quiet removal of the images from the churches, but in the face of public opinion they felt bound to disapprove of the terrible destruction of these August nights. In view of the general trend of the Calvinist sermons, a minister who was now in a position to say that he had never uttered what might seem to encourage such outrages must have considered [himself lucky or else have been one who could well control his tongue. Most of them would go so far as to say it was in fact a fate which such idolatry deserved.

The Lutherans took no part in the business, nor probably did the Anabaptists.

The Confederates had not planned any outbreak such as this, but the talk and the actions of some of them had encouraged something of the sort, although it was abhorrent to the feelings of the best of them, and many of them were Catholics. The Confederate gentlemen were less responsible than the ministers,

¹ Kervyn "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 343.

who were, as a rule, ill-educated and garrulous, suggesting often what they would scarcely have desired to be done. Orange was wise enough to see that such an affair would injure any cause. So far as Antwerp was concerned the actual work of destruction was probably started in serious form by fanatics and taken up by the rabble, many of them being French and Walloon strangers fled from their own homes, and some being of the Antwerp artisan class thrown out of work by five or six years of bad trade and infuriated by the high cost of living. At the beginning of the month Orange had begged the foreign merchants to continue business as usual, as a further cessation of trade might make those out of work commit some disorder.

One could not justly accuse the Calvinists themselves of actual theft beyond, perhaps, a draught of wine in a cloister cellar, a wooden image for firewood, or the pipe of an organ for the children to play on; but undoubtedly there was a great deal of robbery by roughs, and it is sad to relate that among them were some English, of whom there were many in the town who had fled from England after committing robberies and the like there.¹

The outcome of the whole affair was that the Lutherans in Germany and those in the Provinces were entirely alienated from the Calvinists' cause, and a reaction in favour of Catholicism set in throughout Brabant and Flanders, beginning with the break-up of the Confederacy. Many Catholics who had been ill-disposed towards Philip now returned to complete loyalty. It was the beginning of the ruin of the Protestant cause in the southern Provinces.

Richard Clough wrote to Gresham from Antwerp on the 25th of August, saying that many who had previously held with the "Gheuse" were now offended with them; that most people approved the pulling down of the images, but disliked that so much gold and silver and jewels should have been stolen from the churches. He added his own fear that the town might yet be sacked, so full was it of destitute people, and he had no doubt there would be a disturbance when the time came for the execution of those who had already been arrested for stealing money or jewels from Our Lady's Church. But it is important to notice that he had not heard that a Protestant had stolen a penny's worth, it all being the work of vagabonds.²

After these events mildness, on the part of Philip, was no longer to be expected. He was going to dissimulate until he was

¹ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1566-68, No. 674. Many had been coming over daily from the Temple and other Inns on account of religion, who we may suppose had nothing to do with the outrages.—No. 574.

² Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 341.

ready to send Alva with an army to punish the heretics, for he naturally regarded it as their work, and those who felt that his anger would fall on them had to make up their minds to flee the country or to resist him. Few trusted to his mercy. The worst had happened, and it had happened just as the Regent and the Catholic clergy had said it would happen.

It may be asked how a hundred men could overawe the town for so long. Most townsmen had weapons, and during the later part of the outburst some were armed in their houses, but they were not organized, and had, indeed, been ordered not to take part in any disturbance which might arise. The Broad Council had declined to do the only thing which could have saved the churches—to raise a citizen force. As for the citizens, one did not dare to trust another. If the mob which ran from place to place was unarmed, there were men of another sort—so some said—who were seen lurking up side streets with swords and pistols under their cloaks, and a part of the watch was set upon and overpowered. The Catholics said the Confederates had hired rascals to do this work at eight or ten stivers a day, and that the cloaked figures who carried sword and pistol were those who directed them and saw to it that they earned their pay; but the Confederates had so much to lose by knaves seeming to get the upper hand that we may acquit them of such folly.

Margaret had no troops to lend to the magistrates. The soldiers in the frontier garrisons were few and in a state of mutiny for pay. She had no money to raise mercenaries in Germany and the Bands of Ordonnance would not move against their own countrymen. The magistrates could rely less than usual on the Military Guilds, for they had unaccountably fallen into an unsatisfactory state and many members were known to favour the Gueux.

Strada reminds us that men are often readier to defend their hearths than their altars, and so it was at Antwerp. The merchants and tradesmen thought that the pillaging was only a beginning, and that next would come their turn. An Antwerper's property, if not in ships or merchandise, was usually in house property in or near the town and easily lost in a riot. If ecclesiastical property had been stolen and not that of burghers it was because there was no one to defend it. If the clergy and monks were not injured it was because they fled while their temples were being ransacked and their cellars emptied.

After these days of commotion trade and business came to an end excepting in provisions. Coming to the town on the 29th of the month, Sir Thomas Gresham found there was no money to be borrowed, and he had to prolong his Queen's debts: it

was some time before he could get any money at twenty per cent. Elizabeth from that time onwards borrowed less in Antwerp and more in London, and it was felt that the condition of trade was changing even more quickly than that of religion.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST ARMED RISING

WILLIAM OF ORANGE returned to Antwerp on the 26th of August, 1566. Before leaving the Court at Brussels he had promised the Regent that he would put back the clergy and monks in possession of their property and re-establish divine service. He was a man who took trouble much to heart, and even before his departure to Brussels it was noticed that the strain of keeping peace in the town was telling on him and that he looked pale and thin. He was at once given a force of sixty halberdiers, all *poorters*, put into the town's uniform, and with the Broad Council's consent, so long withheld, he began to enrol eight companies of *poorters*, two hundred to a company, officered by Antwerp gentlemen, such as Anthony van Straelen, van Brecht, van Schoonhoven, and Verheyden.

At once he set about putting the churches in order. He went to see the damage done to the great church and was amazed at its extent. On the 28th of August, by order of the magistrates, three men were hanged on the Market Place for breaking images and stealing, and Orange was present at the execution. One of those who were hanged was an Englishman, named William Constable, and the other two came respectively from North Brabant and the Liège country. Several others were banished.

On the day after the execution it was ordered that no one should injure the Catholics in any way, and Orange afterwards issued an assurance that no attempt would be made to introduce the Inquisition, and that for the present the placards should be held as void.

On Sunday the 1st of September, the first Mass since the outrages was sung in Our Lady's Church by Roger de Taxis, the dean, and the sermon was preached by Sebastian Baerts, the senior canon, the latter having just returned from Holland, whither he had fled. The magistrates and the Margrave with his halberdiers attended the Mass. Next day an Accord was made between Orange and the magistrates on the one part and the Calvinists on the other, which provided that the Catholics should remain unmolested in the enjoyment of what belonged to them, that the Calvinists should have places in the town assigned to them in which to hold meetings, that preachers of both denominations should refrain from vilifying their opponents,

that none should stir up tumults or sing psalms in the streets, or interfere with the course of justice in favour of those charged with taking part in the recent outrages. Those attending the meetings in the town were to go with no other arms than those which their station would accustom them to wear in daily life. This religious peace was intended to hold good until the pleasure of the King and of the States-General could be ascertained.

A similar Accord was entered into with the Lutherans. Margaret of Parma disapproved of such Accords, because they permitted preaching in the town, and because she feared that the "exercise" of the new religion—baptism, marriage, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper—would be claimed; but Orange told her it was safer to let the sectaries meet in the town unarmed than that they should wander about with weapons as before, and that anyway it was no use forbidding what she had not the power to prevent. He had really exceeded the powers conferred on him by the Regent in entering these Accords and had acted in exact opposition to her orders, but he sincerely thought that he was taking the best course to restore and preserve order, and he urged that if preaching continued outside the town vagabonds could come in undetected with the returning crowd. In the end Margaret approved the Accord with a reservation concerning preaching in the town and the "exercise" of the new religions, which points she referred to the King, advising him to summon the States-General. She would not have permitted the "exercise" even outside the town and would have countenanced nothing but preaching and singing. Winter was approaching and the heretics wanted to escape the hardships entailed by field-preaching in a Brabant winter as well as the attentions of the Drossart. This officer could not attack them at meetings in the town, and so they had no longer any excuse for going armed to them. It had not really been Orange's intention to allow "exercise" of the new religion, and when he found it was going on he tried in vain to stop it, for, as Margaret knew, marrying and burying were always taken to go with the right to preach. The most he could do was to induce the sectaries to bury their dead without psalm-singing, prayers, and so on, lest folk should be attracted in great numbers by the novelty and perhaps be offended by what they saw. He clinched the matter by telling Margaret that in truth he could not stop such proceedings if he tried to, as there was not a burgher who would help him. As for the Anabaptists, he would have liked to see them banished from the town. Not satisfying Margaret he offered to resign his post and to retire into private life, for he felt himself misunderstood, and he heard that she and some of the Council had said that his Accord was contrary to the service of God and the King, and therefore not for the good of the country. Margaret declined to relieve him of his responsi-

bilities and denied that she had said any such thing of him and assured him of her good will.

It would have been rather too much to expect of the Regent that she would willingly force the Catholic clergy to abandon even the smallest portion of their right to baptize, marry, and bury, for much profit accrued from performing these ceremonies, even if it had not been contrary to what most people thought right and proper, to allow a minister—a layman and perhaps a tailor or a butcher—to perform such offices. It was horrible to old-fashioned people to think that any person should be dismissed from the world without Christian burial, and the Calvinists had little ceremony for the purpose and did not care whether the ground was consecrated or not. Catholics felt that one who consented to such a burial had ceased to be a Christian. Captain Brecht, of the new citizen guard, who had been a *skepyn* three years before, was known to be a Calvinist. His wife died and he would have buried her in the Calvinist manner, but the magistrates pointed out to him that it would be impossible for them to attend the funeral if it was not according to custom, and so to please them she was buried as a Catholic in the Grey Friars' cloister. Although it was evening when the body was brought there, the Friars dared not wear surplices for fear of the Calvinists since peace was not restored among those of the different religions so far as to make it certain there would be no commotion, even though it was then the middle of September.

There was a good deal of trouble also with the Lutherans over similar efforts on their part to exercise their religion. The *ex-curé* of Kiel, who had been given leave to preach in St. George's church, also began to baptize and bury. The *curé* of the parish was disgusted with the intruder's presence and with what he regarded as a breach of the Accord, and when the church was empty on the 16th of September went in with some Catholics and overthrew the table, font and ewer, communion-table, pulpit, and so on, which the Lutherans had set up; and if Orange had not come down directly the offenders would have hardly escaped alive, for in their turn they had themselves violated the Accord by offending the Lutherans.

Nothing could have been better calculated to render the late Accord abortive than offensive conduct in places of worship, as the magistrates felt when they started proceedings against a man who had tied a dried bladder with peas in it to a dog's tail and let him loose in a Catholic church during sermon, and so caused an uproar.

We hear no more of the *curé* of St. George's excepting that one day he was on his way disguised carrying the Sacrament to a sick parishioner outside St. George's Gate when he was recognized and chased by boys, who made fun of him and stoned him so that he could not carry out his pious errand; from which we

learn that the Accord did not persuade the sectaries to permit the Host to be carried quietly through the streets to the dying. Some thought the *curé* took refuge in the Grey Friars' cloister, outside which noisy scenes were becoming common. The Friars had fled in August, but returned and began again to preach against the teaching of both Luther and Calvin. On the 18th of September there was another disturbance outside the friary. The report of an harquebus had been heard in that direction, and the cry was at once raised that some Spanish soldiers were concealed within. Everything Roman Catholic seemed at this time to centre round these Friars, and of all ecclesiastics in Antwerp they were the most hated, and many demanded that they should be expelled. Orange had been dining close by and came up with his halberdiers. He seized a halberd and laid about him among the crowd and it quickly melted away. Later on he and the Margrave posted a company of the new Citizen Guard to protect the cloister from outrage and so saved the friars, but he pointed out to them that the sooner they left the town the better, for there would be no peace while they remained. They hardly dared to be seen in the streets after this.

The Lutherans gave up St. George's Church, and built one new temple between Everdy and Oudaen Street, which was served by the *curé* of Kiel, and another in the Horse Market.

The Walloon Calvinists built a church on the Wapper behind the Harquebusmen's Garden—a round building, which they supposed to be the shape of King Solomon's Temple. Taffin served there. The Flemish Calvinists built "The Long Church," as distinguished from "The Round Church" of the Walloons, on Mollekens Ram, by the Guesthouse Meadows, near St. George's Gate. A third church was made by the Walloon Calvinists out of an old house in the Corn Market in the New Town, where secret night meetings had been held for years.

The building of these temples proceeded at a rapid pace, for not only did people pour out their wealth in money and jewels, but they lent a hand at digging and carrying lime and stone. All the buildings were so large that the smallest, by means of galleries, would hold a great number of people. When she heard about them, Margaret told Orange that it had never been her intention to allow anything but a structure to shelter the congregation from wind and rain, and here they were building as many temples as there were parish churches. The town would become either a Münster or a Geneva. Before September was out Orange was making a show of trying to check the building, but he was too late, for such a fever for church-building had not raged for generations. Even in the temples meetings might be held only on Sundays and holidays or once in a week which had no holiday, and all the preachers had to be Philip's subjects and to take oath to Orange and the magistrates.

The foreign merchants—Spaniards, Italians, Portuguese, English, Germans, and Easterlings—approved the steps which had been taken to restore order, and at Orange's request promised to recall their agents and clerks who had gone away, and the Broad Council thanked Orange for the good work he had done.

Like the Confederates, Orange had at one time thought that help would come for the Netherland Lutherans—possibly for the Calvinists as well—from Germany, but the image-breaking had caused a disgust there which extinguished such hopes, at least for a time, for Netherland Protestants of whatever persuasion they might be. Help might come for the Calvinists even now from France or England. We have seen that Gresham arrived in Antwerp on the 29th of August. Perhaps Elizabeth had sent him to see how things were going as well as to prolong her bills. On the 4th of September he dined with Orange, and from the conversation at table the sagacious merchant concluded either that Philip was really approving of all that went on or that the nobles were in a position to make it certain that he would not be able to harm them for what they were doing, and that they might even divide the country among themselves. Orange and the others present drank Elizabeth's health.¹

Later on, Gilles Hoffman the merchant, was sent by Orange to Gresham to find out what Elizabeth really intended to do. About the same time Dr. Wotton was returning to England after taking the waters at Spa, and stayed two or three days in Antwerp, but remained incognito and lodged in a by-street.² Orange, however, knew where to find him, and they met at a house outside the town. On the 1st of September, Gresham wrote to Cecil saying that it was thought in Antwerp that Orange was really a Protestant although he went to Mass regularly, but that his brother Louis was the prime mover of all that went on.

Even Orange's enemies had to admit that he was doing well at Antwerp, and when it became known that he would have to go away for a time people with property became very anxious. His control had brought back many clergy, monks, and nuns, as well as business-men, and there were more people in the town than there had been for a long time. The freedom granted to the Protestants brought them back in thousands, and those who put the prosperity of the town before what the Catholics were pleased to call "the honour of God" were pleased. Orange's great difficulty during these months was to find out the real strength of each great party—Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist—and such knowledge was essential, not only to enable him to steer a course to keep the town at peace, but also to help him to determine which was going to be the winning side in the great

¹ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1566-68, No. 704.

² Brugmans, "Engeland en de Nederlanden," p. 196.

game which was to be played. A canon of the Chapter asked him why, as it was alleged, he allowed the Catholics to be deprived of the "exercise" of their religion, even after the Accord of the 23rd of August, and how he would account to the King for such conduct. His answer came with a sneer that there were scarcely ten Catholics in the town, to which the canon replied that there were over ten thousand. Even the canon's computation seems surprisingly small in a population of over eighty-five thousand, but the reply drew from Orange the question, why—if their number was so great—they had not prevented the image-breaking? The conversation then became a discussion as to whose duty that was, but we can see that Orange was in doubt about their strength and wanted information, and in September he sent people—sometimes three times a day—to the Catholic churches during service-time to see the size of the congregations, and he was surprised to hear how large they were, and as a result took to going to Mass more frequently himself and to sitting in a more conspicuous place. Some Spanish and Italian merchants became alarmed at the return of so many heretics and retired with their property. The Italians were all Catholics, and if a Spaniard or Portuguese was infected with heresy he usually proved to be a converted Jew, like the Spanish merchants Marco Perez and Fernando de Bernuy.

Orange's hand had been immensely strengthened by the enrolment of the citizen companies, which was going on so briskly that they were soon on duty at the gates night and day. They were all *poorters* or else well-known inhabitants of Antwerp and had to take oath to preserve the liberties of the town. On the 11th of September, it was ordered in the King's name that none should levy troops without permission, for reports came in of enrolments being made by some who appeared to be acting on behalf of the leaders of the Gueux.

No measures were able to stop the open sale of heretical books and pictures. A very popular picture showed a parrot in a cage which a monkey was picking to pieces with his claws and teeth, while a calf trod on the cage and utterly destroyed it. Then the parrot flew away. The monkey was Luther, the cage the power of the Church or the spiritual sovereignty, the parrot the Church itself and the calf was Calvin.

The magistrates warned Orange that if he went away not an ecclesiastic would remain in the town and that the chief merchants would remove their property and so the trade which had been resuscitated would expire. The riot outside the Grey Friars' in September would not have taken place if it had not been for a report which got about that he had already gone, and it was easily put an end to when he showed himself. He knew perfectly well that Philip would never forgive him for permitting preaching inside the town, and he saw that he must soon choose

some definite course—either retire to his estates in Germany or else openly rebel. After what he had done it would not do to be at Philip's mercy.

Before visiting his governorship of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht he decided to have another interview with Egmont to discover what course he intended to take, and they met at Termonde on the 3rd of October. He learnt that the popularity and military knowledge of the Count would not be placed at the service of any rebels. He knew that Philip was prepared to send an army to crush all opposition to his wishes, probably under Alva; the heretics in Antwerp were praying God to preserve them from the Dragon and the Pharaoh who were coming from Spain, for they thought that the King would follow his general. Orange returned to Antwerp from the interview with Egmont wondering where troops could best be raised. He and Louis had already had German colonels at their house and had discussed levies, and de Hames was now recruiting in Germany, but not with the outward approval of Orange. Brederode was reported to be raising men at Vianen in Holland, and Orange decided that when visiting his Government he would find out what the Big Beggar was really doing.

Orange was quite right: Margaret no longer trusted him and knew that, contrary to what was usual with him, he had let his tongue wag to Gresham over his wine about his disappointments, about difficulties thrown in the way of the Beggars' recruiting in Germany by the Emperor at Philip's request. She had been told, too, by Meghem that a *ritmaster* was raising twelve hundred horse in Germany by virtue of a commission signed at Antwerp by Orange, who had said that if the king came with troops he would not be allowed to enter except on certain conditions clearly defined.¹ She listened to all such reports and passed them on to Philip, but Orange was, as yet, anxious not to let himself appear disloyal.

The Count of Hoogstraeten arrived at Antwerp on the 10th of October, and lodged in a house in Tanners Street, and on the next day Orange informed the Broad Council that he would take his place during his absence. Orange left for the North on the 12th, the ostensible cause of his journey being the troubled state of his Government.

Anthony de Lalaing, Count of Hoogstraeten, was brother-in-law to the Count of Horn. It was he who had thrown a gilt laver at the Bishop of Cambrai at the celebrated feast at Cambrai at which he and Brederode and their friends seemed to vie with each other as to which could be guilty of the most disgraceful conduct. But he did himself an injustice on that occasion, and we may try to blame his youth for it, for he was one of the best of the nobles, of great promise and very prudent, and,

¹ See a letter from Margaret to Philip, in Gachard, "Philip," Vol. I, p. 473.

although he remained a Catholic, his patriotism prompted him to oppose Alva in arms and to give his life in the cause.

In Antwerp he continued Orange's conciliatory policy, and all went well in the town until a rather mysterious plot bore fruit. After Orange's departure the ecclesiastics were in deadly fear of massacre and outrage, or of at least being driven out of the town. A letter written by Margaret on the 16th of October shows that she feared a massacre of Catholics and a pillage of the houses of the rich. On the day she wrote this letter, Hoogstraeten went to Our Lady's Church and heard Mass. Later in the day two cartloads of shot were carried into the church by order of the authorities, and the common people jumped to the very natural conclusion that the Papists had some matter in hand.¹ The incident was, of course, enough in itself to raise a riot, but on the top of it came a rumour that a fresh placard had been issued forbidding preaching in the town, and also the report that the Calvinists had seized the neighbouring town of Bois-le-Duc. Here were all the ingredients from which to compound a full-sized, sixteenth-century Antwerp commotion. The magistrates in taking ammunition into the church could have had no other end in view than to defend it against some attempt which they anticipated. Probably they had heard that an effort was going to be made to seize the tower and from it to threaten the Town House. Some said afterwards that the conspirators' intention was to give a signal on the great bell, at which friends in the town would run to arms. We may guess that the shot were to be rolled down the stairs on those making the ascent.

The magistrates' preparations did not prevent the attempt being made, but they frustrated the full development of it. On the afternoon of the next day—the 17th of October—a crowd of four or five thousand people, mostly rabble, collected in the churchyard and all round where is now the Place Verte, and the church had to be kept closed all the afternoon. When it got dark some men got a ladder and using it as a ram broke open the south door and got into the church. Then they set to work to break and overturn the images, which had been set up again after the August outbreak, exerting themselves particularly in the Choir. An Antwerp gentleman named Jean de Boubert, and called "Jan Pergamont," joined the mob, being at the time rather intoxicated, and asked them if they had a leader, and said that if not he would lead them, whereupon he drew his sword and hacked with it at images until he broke it. Some of his friends or well-wishers then persuaded him to go home to bed.

As soon as Hoogstraeten and the Margrave heard of the attack on the church they led some of the new citizen soldiers to the scene and demanded of the rabble what they wanted. The

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 366.

answer was that they wanted the great church and the Town House, and they started shouting "Long live the Beggars!" Hoogstraeten lost his temper—he was in the church by this time—and seems to have killed one or two with his own hand. He ordered the doors to be closed and there was a rush for the windows and all but twenty or thirty escaped arrest.¹ The prisoners were put in the Town House for the night and what trial they got took place there, and they were not brought before the Vierschare. Five men—two of them *poorters*—were hanged in the morning on the Market Place, and with them the foolish Pergamont, who had been arrested in bed during the night. His fellow-prisoners had been tortured and had given his name as their leader, but he seems really to have come by chance upon the scene as described above. Some said he was Berlaymont's bastard, and that although he was only a boy he had already dissipated an ample fortune. He came to his end richly dressed, with a gold chain round his neck, and almost escaped just before being led out to execution by making a dash for a window of the Town House. There was a moving scene at this hanging. The wife of one of the victims was greatly upset and apparently surprised at seeing her husband climb to the gibbet, and her cries so shook the onlookers that they did not know whose part to take. The execution of these men without proper trial was the first-fruits of an act of martial law, and as such was detested by the rabble, and it was necessary to forbid them to shout "*Papenknechten*" (Priests' Men) after the new citizen soldiers who had helped to quell the trouble, and even a month after the riot a man was punished for having called them this and "*schelmen en bidders*" (rogues and impostors) as well. These soldiers were paid twice as much as the troops in the Royal army, which made it unlikely that Margaret would be able to enlist any men who were eligible for the service of the town. They received ten gulden a month and might work at their own trades when off duty. On this occasion a body of them was commanded by Captain Brecht, who had wanted to bury his wife in the Calvinist manner.

The accounts of this October tumult show what a strong hand could do. Whilst all were agreed that the crowd consisted almost entirely of riff-raff, including many Walloons and French, most people thought the plan had been to molest the clergy and rob the rich Catholics. Although some image-breaking was done, few thought that was the main object of those concerned, and the cry had been "Priests' Blood, Papists' Goods!" The dean of the Chapter told a fellow-priest on a visit to Antwerp that he and the canons believed that the intention had been to seize the church and its tower and then sack the canons' houses,

¹ Some said that many more were killed in the church and buried secretly.

murder the clergy, and after that go on to three specified merchants' counting-houses, in each of which they expected to find a hundred thousand écus, and that if Hoogstraeten had been half an hour later they would have done it. On the night of the riot all burghers were astir and hung lighted lanterns above their doors.

At the end of October, the Calvinists presented a Request to Hoogstraeten offering Philip three million gulden in exchange for liberty of conscience and permission to exercise the rites of their religion, promising loyalty in return. In it they said that the image-breaking had been the work only of those who intended to plunder and steal, and that it did not meet with the approval of their ministers. Hoogstraeten and the magistrates forwarded the Request to the Regent and she sent it to the King; but Hoogstraeten is reported to have said that if he had had more assistance at the time of the last riot he would have hanged three or four of these same ministers.

On the 15th of November, an Anabaptist woman was drowned close on midnight at the Wharf because she had taken upon herself to baptize her child in a ditch in the Guesthouse Meadows. Next day an uproar was caused at the Bourse by a young man selling Calvinist books during business hours. He was arrested by one of the Margrave's men and called on the bystanders to rescue him. Someone tried to help him, and then some Spaniards drew their rapiers, glad enough to get a chance of hurting a Calvinist, and the whole neighbourhood was at blows in a moment. It was thought necessary to issue regulations forbidding apprentices and children to gather in the streets and make bonfires at St. Martin's Mass, and there were no parties of masked musicians and singers round the town on the last nights of the old year. There was a lot going on below the surface, and about Christmas-time floated round the old rumour that the Calvinists were going to massacre the ecclesiastics, and one Christian looked on another with suspicion and hatred. Fear, or perhaps change of religion, had reduced the number of the congregation to hear a sermon at Our Lady's on a festival from two thousand to fifty or sixty. It was said too that the mob were going to plunder not only rich Catholics' houses, but also the Mint on the Oever, near St. Michael's Abbey, and other public buildings. All sorts of suggestions were made for the protection of the Catholics. The Abbot of St. Michael's ordered his monks to wear lay attire, and when their fears had subsided and the danger seemed to be past he found he could not get them to return to any appearance or any duty which would proclaim to the people that they were ecclesiastics. It was impossible for a time to celebrate High Mass, even in Our Lady's, for the music attracted the attention of those who hated priests. The Calvinists seemed to have forgotten the existence of the Accord. Some Catholics sug-

gested bringing soldiers into the towns by ship concealed "as in the horse of Troy," or in carts, or disguised as merchants or peasants. Once through the gates they could be hidden by small numbers in Catholics' houses. There were usually plenty of arms in Antwerp in the armourers' shops or in private possession, but if there proved not to be, then arms would have to be smuggled in from Germany. If any such preparations as these had been discovered the rising against the Catholics would have been precipitated. Some wanted to seize a gate and bring in soldiers boldly and suddenly; others wanted to ask the Regent to come with a garrison. Hoogstraeten called on the members of the Military Guilds and the citizen soldiers to take a new oath that they would protect the churches and the houses and persons of the clergy, which some refused to do. The Netherland clergy at this time were, as a body, hated for their laziness, ignorance, and greed. They were thought to live on the people whom they persecuted. Many of the new religion urged that it would be useless to expel the ecclesiastics alone, but that with them must go the Catholic laymen, because they would restore the clerical regime as soon as they could. Rich parents often sent their younger children into religious houses—sometimes against their will—and if these foundations were suppressed, these members of the family would re-enter the world and claim to share with their brothers and sisters who had divided the family resources among themselves.

Before Christmas the Calvinists had begun to celebrate the Lord's Supper in the new churches. A minister sat at a table with twelve communicants administering to them "in both kinds," and then to another twelve, women sitting at a separate table. A series of such ceremonies would last from morning until evening, and all the time a minister preached or read from the Scriptures. The thirteen at the table were, of course, intended to recall the scene of the Last Supper, and some asked which of them represented Judas. Marriage contracts now began to contain clauses providing for liberty of religion for each party to them. On sermon days you could hear Taffin at the Round Church on the Wapper or Ysbrandt Balck of Frankfort in Flemish at Mollekens Ram or Sylvanus in the Corn Market in the New Town.

The leading Calvinist layman in the town was a Spanish Jew named Marco Perez, who acted as Treasurer of the Consistory, and entertained ministers at his house. His power among the sectaries was very great, and he took the credit for having, by his influence, saved the town from sack and the clergy from massacre by his co-religionists. One does not know how far he spoke the truth about this, but he was one of those leaders who are ever threatening that if this or that concession is not made to their partisans they will not be answerable for the

consequences. Orange said he would be one of the first to suffer if hanging began. It was he who tried to send heretical books to Spain which had been printed in Antwerp in Spanish, hoping thus to keep Philip occupied by some outbreak at home. Catholics thought that too much liberty was allowed to printers in Antwerp and that all of them ought to be moved to one of the University towns—Louvain or Douay—where they could be better controlled. As it was, one could buy the books of Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Calvin, or Bucer at several printers' offices. Someone had printed a pamphlet arguing that the King held Antwerp only as mortgagee, it having been pledged by Philippe le Hardi to his ancestors.

Of the same race as Perez was Fernando de Bernuy, who played a leading part in the October trouble and then fled. Perez's wife Ursula kept a school and taught heresy to young girls or anybody else who cared to attend. The Calvinists showed themselves very eager to attract the children away from the Catholics. Perez's brother-in-law, Martin Lopez, was said to have preached in Antwerp.¹

Strada says that letters were read at this time to the Calvinist Consistory at Antwerp dated from Constantinople and written by John Michese, the Jew, in the favour of the Sultan, urging the Calvinists to go on as they had begun and to destroy the Catholic Church, and saying that the Turk would soon be occupying all Philip's time, and that this message put heart into the Antwerp Calvinists. Reports reached the Catholics that the Calvinists were paying *wartghelt* in Germany, and some went so far as to say that Orange intended to seize Antwerp and make it the rebels' head-quarters, and it was considered how, in the case of a siege, it would be possible to cut the Scheldt by a bridge to prevent help coming up from Zealand. While things were so unsettled in the town itself it was natural that it should be felt by the Catholics that something more was being planned farther off and behind it, and that the heretics might seize and hold Flushing, and so cut Antwerp off from the sea and even prevent Philip's landing if he came. Anthony van Straelen was thought to have a headful of plans, but his health prevented his doing much. The four towns thought to be the most rebellious were Antwerp, Bois-le-Duc, Tournay, and Valenciennes, and Margaret wished she could crush all four before help came to them from Germany. In November she was manoeuvring to get garrisons into Antwerp and Bois-le-Duc, but she was still short of men. Count Mansfeld had raised four companies in Luxemburg, and of these she sent two to cut Antwerp off from Germany. Meghem and Arenberg were secretly raising men for

¹ A very interesting letter was written to Granvelle by the Provost Morillon at this time, full of information about Antwerp, supplied by Roger de Taxis, Dean of the Chapter. See "Corr. de Granvelle," Vol. II, No. XVI.

her in the Provinces, while other levies were being made in Germany. The streets of Antwerp were alive with rumours that Philip had an army prepared in Spain, Italy, and Savoy to invade the Netherlands, and Richard Clough noticed that when such news was at its worst the greatest number of persons went to the Calvinist meetings, and that then many important people, for the first time, proclaimed themselves to be adherents of the new religion—for example, Gilles Hoffman, the prominent merchant, now went with his son and all his servants to a sermon, and they openly sang psalms in a congregation of fifteen thousand people.

In December Noircarmes laid siege to Valenciennes for the Regent, and on the 2nd of January he took Tournay, both towns having previously been seized by the Calvinists.

The Catholics, especially the Italians and Spaniards, were losing confidence in Orange, and hoped he would not come back, for Hoogstraeten's severity in October had made him the ruler of their choice.

Four Lutheran ministers had been sent to the town from Germany by Louis of Nassau, who hoped they would have the ability to form some sort of alliance between the Lutherans and the Calvinists; for neither he nor William realized the width of the gulf between the two bodies until their representatives held a public disputation. They had hoped that the Calvinists could be persuaded to become absorbed by the Lutheran body for a time, and that then, if they repudiated the image-breaking, help would come from the Lutheran German princes. They had supposed that hatred of Rome was bond strong enough to bind all sects together, if they were diplomatically approached; but they discovered that the Calvinists hated the Lutherans even more than they did the Catholics.

Peter Dathenus, a red-bearded apostate Carmelite monk, visited Antwerp at this time and stayed with Marco Perez.

By the Accord no strangers had the right to preach and all disputations were prohibited, but the Accord was lost sight of when there was nothing to be gained by its terms. Ministers flocked to the town. The Catholic clergy, of course, made out the worst case they could against such men, and Provost Morillon was told that several were homicides, that Dathenus was a necromancer, that the *curé* of Kiel was a thief and had killed two men—one of them that he might enjoy his wife—that another minister had married three women, and that there was a horse-thief and a member of the Parfaits among them. A past-burgomaster, who had been accused of peculation, was said to have turned preacher. It was difficult to persuade some people that men gave up the old faith for any other reason than that they might live more licentiously. Taffin, they said, had made a lot of money lately.

The old year (1566) went out to the drum-beat of the night watch as it paced the streets, expecting an outbreak at any moment.

Noircarmes's operations against Valenciennes and Tournay may be considered the beginning of the war which Motley describes as "the most unequal conflict ever waged by man against oppression,"¹ but the Welsh soldier, Sir Roger Williams, who saw much of the fighting on the side of the patriots and had picked up a great deal of information about what he had not seen for himself, thought that if Egmont and Orange had joined they could have prevented a Spanish force entering the country, even if it had been twice as large as that which Alva brought.²

After the Northern Provinces had made good their position, Sir Thomas Overbury wrote some notes on the country, and, while considering the troubles, pointed out that all things concurred in making it an independent State, for the disposition of the people was as mutinous as it was industrious and frugal, and the Baltic behind them yielded all materials for ships and many other commodities, and that both France and England supplied men.³

Little by little Margaret began to stop the preaching in other parts of the country on the pretext that the meetings were not being held only in the places where they had been held before the Accord, but the magistrates did not dare at first to publish such commands in Antwerp. She was going to repudiate the Accord as soon as she felt strong enough to do so, or at all events such parts of it as the heretics said entitled them to preach and enjoy the "exercise" of their religion, for she alleged they had been extorted under duress. The magistrates still urged on her that the best way of settling matters was to summon the States-General to advise as to the means to be taken to stop the preaching—which, it was generally admitted, had been the cause of all the outbreaks—to preserve the old religion and the Royal authority, and for the welfare of the Provinces. They thought that until the States-General met the Protestants should not be molested, and that those who preferred to do so should be allowed to depart, and that a general pardon should be granted to those who determined to remain and conform to the Catholic Faith. If Philip would not summon the States-General it would be best, they said, for someone to go to Spain to tell him how matters stood, for it would be fatal if he came with troops to assert his authority by force. This was the excellent advice of the magistrates of Antwerp, but it was disregarded by the Court.

Preaching on Saturday the 18th of January, 1567, at Mollekens Ram, the Calvinist Sylvanus told his hearers that

¹ "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Historical Introduction.

² "Actions of the Low Countries," p. 335.

³ Thomas Overbury, "Observations upon the state of the Seventeen Provinces," p. 1.

Hendrik van Berchem, the chief Burgomaster, and some of the magistrates had asked Margaret to put a garrison into the town and to build a castle to hold it in subjection, and as the result of what he said, the town was in commotion for two nights. His statement was true, but there was no chance of the people sinking into tranquillity while such things were said in sermons, and a massacre of Catholics would be the end of it all. Whatever van Berchem and the Catholics had done, the magistrates, as a body, had asked Margaret to come without troops.

With the new year came Philip's answer to the offer made by the Calvinists of three million gulden to buy freedom for their religion. It showed that the suggestion displeased him, and that he thought that they made it to show how numerous, rich, and powerful they were, or else to provide an excuse for collecting money which would, in fact, be spent by them on an appeal to arms.

Orange returned to Antwerp on the 4th of February, having restored order throughout his Government. Brederode had arrived two days before and had again put up at the "Red Lion," but next morning he moved to a private house near the Bourse. The magistrates were alarmed, for his arrival usually heralded some disturbance. On his way back from Holland, Orange had stopped for a few days at Breda, where Horn, Brederode, and other nobles met him and discussions took place. At Antwerp Brederode often went to Orange's lodging and dined and supped.

There were conferences between Orange and the magistrates as to how the preaching was to be stopped in accordance with the Regent's demand. Something had to be done, for she had now a considerable force of Walloons at her disposal, raised by Arenberg, Meghem, and Count Mansfeld. She had definitely informed the magistrates that the King was coming, preceded by the Duke of Alva, and that he intended to act as a clement prince would do, but deputies from the Calvinist churches at Antwerp asked Cecil for help. The people declined to believe that Philip intended to act as a clement prince, and the news that Alva was coming made them feel far more inclined to be rebellious than before. Margaret felt that Antwerp was the centre of sedition, and the disposition of her troops was designed to cut it off from Germany and Cleves.

Finally, on the 20th February, Margaret announced that all preachers must leave the town at once, that preaching and exercise of all the new religions must cease, that the churches which had been pillaged must be restored, Catholic services and ceremonies re-established, the building of the new temples stopped, obedience to the King restored, vagabonds, foreign sectaries, fugitives, and apostates banished, justice restored, and the soldiers in the pay of the town made to take oath to

the King. In return she promised to concede that the inhabitants of Antwerp should not be molested on account of religion until Philip, with the advice of the nobles, councils, and States-General, should otherwise ordain. From this amnesty were excluded those guilty of the crimes of lese-majesty, sacking churches, murder, rebellion, conspiracy against the King, and so on;¹ and it was to depend on the King's ratification. Orange, Hoogstraeten, and the magistrates tried what persuasion would do with the sectaries, and delegates were summoned to Orange's house on the 27th of February, who said that these new suggestions were contrary to the Accord of September, but as they wished to show themselves good citizens they would lay them before their followers, and they did so. Orange, at a later interview, insisted that the King's commands must be obeyed. On the 2nd of March, a crowd of two thousand persons gathered outside his house in consequence of a rumour that the meetings were to be stopped by force, and they only dispersed when he reassured them on this point. Orange, Horn, Hoogstraeten, and Brederode were now anxious to suppress the preaching in order to deprive the Government of an excuse for introducing an army, and if that had been done they would then have tried to form a league, with Egmont at its head, to oppose force with force. But Egmont would lend himself to nothing of that kind.

We can see that it was the view of the English residents in Antwerp—agreeing with Roger Williams—that if the nobles and gentlemen had all sided against Philip it would have been impossible for any army of his to set foot in the country, but that without the nobles, and particularly without Egmont, the patriots would have a hard fight. Some were long-sighted enough to see that to raise head against the King was now the only safe course for such as had too much offended him ever to hope for forgiveness.

In February there was fresh trouble at the Grey Friars, who were more unpopular than ever. They had come to Antwerp in the middle of the previous century, in the youth of the town's prosperity, and had built a cloister between Klapdorp and the street now called rue des Aveugles. In Antwerp they were called the Franciscans, Recollets, Minderbroeders (Friars Minor) Cordeliers, and by the English, the Grey Friars. They have given their name to the Recollets Canal at the end of Klapdorp. Between nine and ten in the evening of the 16th of February, which was the first Sunday in Lent, the monastery was seen to be on fire, and much damage was done to the church, the belfry, the library, the dormitory, and other buildings. A crowd ran up at once, and on entering the monastery they found—so it, was said—the friars eating and drinking and making good cheer; at which every one was much scandalized, for one of their own

¹ Gachard, "G. le T.," Vol. II, p. ciii.

fraternity, perhaps the young preacher from France, had on the day before inveighed in his sermon against the Calvinists' disregard of Lent. In their turn the Catholics accused the heretics of having set fire to the cloister. For years the people of Antwerp had been in that nervous condition in which are hatched the strangest stories and rumours, and when we remember this and add to it the results of the propagandism which both Catholics and Protestants indulged in when writing and speaking about each other, we shall see how it is that one who reads both sides and tries to be impartial concludes that in many cases neither side can be believed. The Protestants never hesitated to lie about the Grey Friars, but many monks and friars deserved all that was said about them, and it is difficult to blow the chaff from the grain. The report of the occurrence which reached Ghent described how the friars were enjoying a capon, a shoulder of mutton, and other meats when the crowd burst in, and it added that some women were with them, two of whom were married, one to a well-known shopkeeper of Antwerp, and that the great fire they had made to cook the food had set the chimney ablaze. The report went on to say that the women fled, some in short night-dresses and others as if they had just got out of bed—their garments of the finest quality—and that some were caught and marched about the town by the crowd to fife and drum while the bone of the shoulder of mutton and the remains of the capon were carried in triumph after them. When they brought his wife back to the aforesaid tradesman's house he refused her admittance. Brederode would have let the cloister burn and have saved only the surrounding houses. As a matter of fact, it seems as if no one passed the night in the friary, for the friars, for fear of massacre, slept in the town, and very likely the fire originated in the carelessness of the citizen soldiers placed on guard there. John Fitzwilliams told Cecil that the fire started through the carelessness of the friars, "but being begun it lacked no help to set it forward," and that only the fear of destroying neighbouring property prevented its being made worse still.¹ At the end of the month some Calvinists threatened to kill one of these friars in the porchway of Our Lady's Church.

With Brederode had come to Antwerp a number of Gueux for the purpose of recruiting in and around the town. Antwerp was now an ideal place for enlisting the lawless rascals of whom such an army was sure to be composed. One who knew it well went to the town at the beginning of the year and noticed that the greater part of the better class of inhabitants had gone, but that the *canaille* had increased an hundredfold, so that the streets were full of them. Many came from Tournay when Noircarmes took it, and from Ghent. People looked sad and uneasy. The Antwerp heretics regretted they had not been

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 416.

able to do anything for Tournay, but help might yet be sent to Valenciennes. As already said, and as had been reported to Margaret, the Confederates had raised troops in Germany after the meeting at St. Trond in the previous summer, and they were kept in *wartghelt* until it was seen that nothing could be done before the spring of 1567. Now men were to be taken up in Germany by Louis of Nassau, while Brederode recruited round Antwerp and round Vianen in Holland.

The Great Beggar promised the chiefs of the Calvinist churches that he would maintain the free exercise of their religion, and they promised to furnish him with money. Most of the money would come from Antwerp merchants and tradesmen. Since nothing was likely to stir Egmont to take arms against his King and the time was not yet ripe for Orange to associate himself with rebels, the choice of the commander of the Gueux fell on Brederode. He sent Anthony de Bombergen to seize the neighbouring town of Bois-le-Duc and so keep Meghem out of it, and also sent a promise of succour to Valenciennes. Margaret had hoped that if Meghem could seize Bois-le-Duc and Maastricht she might yet bring Antwerp to reason without resorting to force. The military operations of the Gueux were to be directed from Brederode's castle at Vianen when all was ready.

With the first signs of spring some well-known soldiers appeared at Antwerp. Anthony de Bombergen had fled from France after serving under Condé. The chief recruiting officer was Adolph vander Aa of Malines, who opened an office at the "Sun"¹ in Brewers Street, where he not only enlisted men, but hid them until they could be sent away. He had once been in the household of Margaret of Parma. Pierre d'Andelot, the oldest of the captains, who had once been a protonotary, helped in the recruiting office at the "Sun." The most remarkable of these leaders were Jean de Marnix, Seigneur de Tholouse, and his brother Philippe de Marnix, Seigneur de St. Aldegonde, both of whom were enthusiastic Calvinists, educated at Geneva, and the best men who led the movement in its infancy. Charles Boisot, who before his death had so many naval victories to his credit, was in Antwerp for a time. Vander Aa's recruiting office was there for every one to see who went along the crowded Brewers Street, which was a row of inns, shops, and printers' offices, and in the neighbourhood were to be seen men on the way to offer their services and those who had been enlisted. Recruiting clerks sat in taverns and crowds of men gathered round the doors. The shops were full of strangers and loafing soldiers haunted the Bourse, so that those who had no business there were ordered to keep away at Bourse-time. Every one knew what was going on. Yet Orange pretended to be surprised when the Regent sent him the information in the middle of February.

¹ Every house in Antwerp had its name and sign, not inns only.

He pretended to make inquiries as to who was responsible and to discover that it was vander Aa, whom he ordered to be brought before him next morning. By next morning vander Aa had, of course, disappeared, but the magistrates ordered the Margrave to arrest him, and also ordered all soldiers not in the town's service and all vagabonds—which was as much as to say all those who were likely to offer themselves for enlistment—to leave the town. Upon this order a number of Walloon vagabonds went out of the gates to Mercxem and Dambrugge and other neighbouring villages and were there enrolled by the Gueux. They were said to number fifteen hundred.

The Margrave, Anthony van Straelen, and Captain Brecht, who now always appeared when there was trouble, rode out to them with the order to depart within three hours if they did not wish force to be used. On their way out this party met some Walloons coming from Dambrugge, who threatened the Margrave but did not prevent their reaching the village of Dambrugge, where they found some three hundred of the same sort waiting with swords drawn. Whatever the size of the escort was which the Margrave and van Straelen had taken with them, it was insufficient or else not as reliable as had been expected. Fortunately the Walloons did not wish any of the gentlemen any harm and contented themselves with disarming the guard and making the Margrave and his friends shout "Long live the Beggars!" They said they were in Brederode's service, who had gone by water on the previous day to Vianen taking a thousand of their number with him. Seeing that their escort had run away, there was nothing for the Margrave and Burgomaster to do but to ride back to Antwerp.

Neither Orange nor Hoogstraeten had any intention of stopping the levies, but the magistrates did all they could to do so, for the foreign merchants were terrified by these preparations and were even bullied to supply pay for these rascals, whom the burghers called the "Band of the Forlorn Hope." Shopkeepers who had promised to support the cause with money disliked the look of the champions who had espoused it. They had no proper uniform but belt and cap, and some stuck a fox's brush in the latter. To cope with this riff-raff, which was a blight on this part of Brabant, a new office was created or revived by Margaret, namely, the Red Rod of Brabant or Marshal of the Court—called Spelleken, or Spelle, by the people—and given to Jean Grauwels, who appeared several times in Antwerp, where, unlike the Drossart of Brabant, he had some jurisdiction.

At night the members of the Band of the Forlorn Hope did a great deal of damage to the country-houses of rich Antwerpens at Mercxem, Deurne, and other places. On the 19th of February their leaders led them to Austruweel, and there they did wholesale damage to the property of the peasants and pressed many of them

into service against their will. Some who joined this army were fooled into believing that they were entering the King's service.

On Sunday the 2nd of March, the very day on which a crowd collected before the House of Aachen, in which Orange lodged, three companies, each one hundred strong, which had been formed in Antwerp, marched through the town in broad daylight, with drums beating, and embarked at the quay on three ships which had been waiting for them. Their leaders spread the rumour that they were going to Vianen ; but, in fact, they were bound for the island of Walcheren, which was a much more serious matter.¹ Many had, indeed, already gone to Vianen, and others joined them almost every day, with boat-loads of corselets, morions, arquebuses, pikes, halberds, powder, and shot, so that Antwerp was stripped of war material. One does not know whether these three companies came into the town from outside to embark or whether they had been recently raised and concealed in the town by such men as a very tall, lame man named Jehan Renault and his friends, who seem to have come usually from the other side of the Provinces or from France, and, in spite of the magistrates' orders, continued to recruit at the "Swan" and the "Sun" and a number of houses and taverns in Brewers Street and other crowded thoroughfares.

It is not surprising that the Regent and the Council of State became very suspicious of Orange. She summoned him to Brussels at the end of February to give some explanation of what was going on, but he declined to go, at the same time complaining bitterly of the mistrust in which he felt she held him. This feeling was accentuated by her having sent a regiment of Walloons to Walcheren without consulting him, although it was in his government, for she had heard of the Beggars' plan to seize that island. Orange had himself often been credited with the desire to seize it to prevent the King's landing if he came by sea. A Zealand sea-captain, named Robert Schootman, had been in Antwerp and went not only to Brederode's lodging but into Orange's dressing-room in connexion, it was said, with some plan about Walcheren. It was the gossip in Antwerp that if the Confederates, or what was left of them, would accept the Confession of Augsburg, Orange would declare for their party, and that then, no doubt, help would come from Germany, and that Valenciennes might be relieved ; but this was just what the Confederates would not do—Tholouse declared he would rather die than become Lutheran. It was Tholouse who commanded the three companies who sailed from Antwerp. He supposed that a Spanish army was on its way by sea and he hoped to get possession of Flushing and the island of Walcheren and prevent its landing. Excepting Antwerp there was no port outside Walcheren at which a large army and its supplies could be

¹ Gachard, "G. le T.," Vol. II, p. cxi, etc., and the letters in the same volume.

conveniently disembarked. Of course this small band could not hope to do more than get possession of important places in anticipation of a general rising to prevent the invasion of the country. With Tholouse were Jean de Bloys, Lord of Treslong, Peter Haeck, ex-bailiff of Middelburg, and Gilles le Clercq, all in one ship, while the other two were commanded by Jean Denys and another Frenchman whose name we do not know. On the day they sailed the little fleet arrived off the Castle of Rammekens on Walcheren, and Haeck and Le Clercq landed and went to see the commandant of the castle, who was expected to betray his trust. However, he was not willing to do so, and Flushing was too well guarded for a small force to attack it, and after some futile attempts to land Tholouse sailed back to Austruweel, where he disembarked on the 4th of March. Orange and the magistrates ordered him to depart at once, and he made a show of obeying, leading his men to Mercxem and Deurne, where they pillaged houses and molested clergy, but then he returned to Austruweel. This village lay on the right bank of the river, half a league below the town, and was an important military position, having the river on one side and *polders*¹ on the other, and could have been easily defended by a small, well-disciplined force. Tholouse was joined by every man who had been enlisted round Antwerp, and recruits came in every day; he hoped especially that the Calvinists in Antwerp would join him, and they did send out some supplies.

While this rebel force had been on the move on the Scheldt and in the villages, measures had been taken in the town to preserve it. It was forbidden to send the rebels weapons or ammunition or to give them information. The general agitation which prevailed for the next week began with the usual kind of rumour—that steps were to be taken to carry out the Regent's order to close the Calvinist churches and stop the preaching. This was on the 7th of March. Two skepyns were posted with the watch at each gate to question strangers as to where they were going to lodge and to see that they actually went there. Tholouse's ragamuffins kept on pillaging and spoiling the farmers, to the disgust of peaceable people in the town.

The magistrates closed the Red Gate, destroyed the bridges leading over the ditches to Austruweel, and set a guard on the wall to prevent anyone coming or going. They wanted to send out the Military Guilds to cut up the rebels, but Orange and Hoogstraeten successfully opposed the suggestion, arguing that it would be unwise to denude the town of such defenders at a time when traitors might appear within it. The magistrates' plan shows us the low value they set on Tholouse's force, for the Military Guilds were not now considered fit to take the field

¹ "Polders" were fields below the level of the river.

against good soldiers. At a later date a picked body of them defended the fort at Lillo against the Spaniards, but they were not now often called on to fight in the open. Tholouse's troops were looked on as but a dangerous armed rabble, and when they found no help was coming from the town they redoubled their attacks on property, sacking the house of the Drossart of Brabant at Mercxem and carrying off a considerable quantity of weapons. With the latest recruits they numbered between fifteen hundred and two thousand.

Most of Margaret's troops were laying siege to Valenciennes, but she formed a force of her bodyguard and some Walloons from the Lierre garrison, in all about eight hundred disciplined men, and put Philip de Lannoy, Seigneur de Beauvoir, in command. They assembled secretly near St. Bernard's Abbey and went through Wilryk, Berchem, Deurne, and Dambrugge, having Antwerp on their left. They were first seen by the sentries on the walls in the early morning of Thursday the 13th of March. Their approach had not been wholly unexpected in the town, and there had been a disturbance on the Meer as soon as it got dark on the previous evening, but Orange and Hoogstraeten rode about the town until the early morning and kept things quiet. They both mounted again as soon as they heard that the Royal troops were to be seen, but a great crowd assembled on the Meer in no time, armed with every kind of weapon, crying that they wanted to go to the assistance of their friends at Austruweel, and the presence of the two noblemen and Anthony van Straelen did little at first to soothe them. A rush was made for the Red Gate and it was broken open before Orange could get there, and some five hundred got out in spite of him, but they did not like the look of Beauvoir's men and returned. After that all the Calvinists assembled on the Meer and remained in arms.

Beauvoir attacked the rebels at about seven o'clock in the morning, and took them by surprise—indeed, they thought his troops were reinforcements for them from Germany—and few offered much resistance. All was over in two hours and the rebels were absolutely cut in pieces. Tholouse was killed after valiant conduct. It was hardly a fight at all, but a massacre, which Catholic writers were inclined to magnify into a battle and great victory. Almost all the rebels were killed or drowned in attempting to escape, but a few hid in the villages. The Royal troops carried off the valuable booty which the rebels had collected and pillaged the peasants at Austruweel for having given food to them, a thing which they could hardly have declined to do. Most of the prisoners were put to death at once as Beauvoir feared they would prove a danger if an attack was made from the town, but a few were forced to carry the plunder and were so heavily laden that they sank beneath their burdens, and it was said that they all died excepting eighteen, who were

shut up in a cellar at Brussels, like wild beasts. Only a handful of the Royal troops were killed.

Thousands of Antwerp Calvinists had watched the fight from the walls, and tremendous excitement accompanied the final stages, during which Tholouse's wife ran madly through the streets urging the men to go to her husband's assistance. With the greatest dexterity Orange managed to control the mob until Beauvoir's force had gone away. When the result of what was going on at Austruweel became known more and more sectaries took arms, and by midday twenty thousand men, nearly all Calvinists, had assembled in arms on the Meer and Meer Bridge. They fetched the town artillery from the storehouse near St. Michael's Abbey, called the "*Eeckhof*," wagons from the wagoners' stables, and timber and barrels from the New Town, and turned the Meer into an armed camp, posting marksmen at the windows of the houses. Orange never ceased searching for a means to restore order, and in the afternoon arranged an Accord between the magistrates and the Calvinists, which patched the matter for that day, but the whole town spent the night under arms, the Calvinists crying incessantly, "Long live the Beggars!" But the Calvinists had no leader and no fixed plan although Churchyard, the English soldier and poet, did something to guide them. Now that it was too late to injure the King's troops they had some vague idea of capturing the town, and were for sacking the monasteries again and the houses of rich Catholics. Next morning bands of Calvinists ran from church to church and from monastery to monastery, pillaging and wrecking where they could, and ill-treating the priests and monks.¹ They dragged some old Grey Friars out of their cloister to the Meer and stuck cocks' feathers in their cowls. In Brewers Street they caught one of the clergy of Our Lady's Church and made him shout "Long live the Beggars!"² They let loose the prisoners from the Steen, whether they had been put there for debt, Anabaptist practices, image-breaking, or theft. Churchyard, although he was to some extent a leader of the Calvinists, managed to keep on good terms with Orange at the same time, and was at dinner with him, at the House of Aachen, when news came that the mob had broken into the Grey Friars' cloister, and Orange sent him to restore order. They were pillaging it when he arrived and threatening to hang the friars and kill all papists afterwards, but he managed to pacify the intruders.

In the afternoon of this day, Friday the 14th of March, a number of the sectaries drew themselves up in order on the Meer and marched along St. Catherine's Rampart, the Kipdorp, Wool Street, and the Cow Gate to the Market Place, where they found the Military Guilds and some of the citizen troops on guard, and there they waited while their deputies carried their demands to

¹ "Pontus Payen," Vol. I, p. 306.

² "Antwerpsch Chronykje," p. 115.

the magistrates in the Town House. Put shortly, these were for the expulsion of the clergy and papists, that the Town House and the keys of the gates should be handed over to them, and that none should be permitted to pass in or out of the town without leave of Herman Modet. Also they insisted on the deposition of the Margrave, the Chief Burgomaster, and some other magistrates, and that some of their own party should be put in their places. During the late afternoon Orange drew up another set of articles of Accord and rode with Hoogstraeten and Anthony van Straelen to the Meer to lay them before the Calvinists, but the party was greeted with hostile cries.

The Calvinists had been exceedingly excited by the report that the Lutherans were to side against them, and they therefore evinced as much hatred for them as they had done for the Catholics. The fact was that many of the Citizen Guard were deserting to the Calvinists, and they were on the way to becoming masters of the town, and so Orange had resorted to banding the Catholics together with the Lutherans and the foreign merchants, and his plans had become known. On the Saturday morning the Broad Council met at the House of Aachen to discuss the terms of the new Accord to be offered to the Calvinists, and Modet and two other leaders presented themselves and insisted that the demands made on the day before should be granted and said the mob would sack the town if they were not. The Council refused all such concessions and both sides expected a fight. But Orange's negotiations with the merchants and Lutherans had borne fruit, and Catholics were joined by Lutherans, Easterlings, and Germans, and took up their stand in arms on the Oever near St. Michael's. With them were four companies of citizen soldiers. The Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese merchants were posted in the Kipdorp, and the English watched at their house, the House of Lierre, in Prince's Street. The Military Guilds and the rest of the citizen companies were on the Market Place. The result was that the Calvinists, who meant to resort to force, found when they were in order of battle that they were outnumbered by those in favour of law and order, and their companies melted away. Their leaders were crest-fallen, for it had been their boast that their partisans outnumbered all others by four to one. Just as at the image-breaking in August so now the greater number of those who caused the trouble were Frenchmen and Walloons from Lille and Tournay, and there were a number of strangers from Lower Flanders. Most of these folk were thought to have come to Antwerp to be close at hand when the pillaging of the rich city began.

Orange's manœuvre in banding the Catholics, Lutherans, and foreign merchants was deprecated by the Calvinists, who had been too ready to look on him as inclined to become one of themselves, so they cried out that he had made them dance to

his tune and that now he wanted to leave them in the mess into which they had fallen. But they might say what they liked, they had been outwitted most cleverly, and yet dealt with perfectly fairly. There was nothing for them to do but agree to the Accord and lay down their arms, and this they did. It was a triumph of the better and richer class of citizen over the worse, but never had Orange acted better, and with him must rest the credit of preserving the town from ruin as a place fit for traders to live in. Such of the best class of citizen as were Calvinists did not mix with the rioters, and of the twenty thousand who were so bold on the Thursday and Friday, a small portion only meant actually to stand if it came to a fight.

Put shortly, the Accord provided that the keys of the town should be left in the hands of Orange and Hoogstraeten, that the watch should be kept by the Military Guilds and the citizen soldiers jointly, that the latter should guard the gates and other important points under their elected captains, that the magistrates should not admit a garrison without the consent of the Broad Council, that the citizen soldiers should take oath to the King, that the privileges of the town should be preserved, that nothing in this Accord should prejudice that of September, that all that had passed should be deemed to have been done in the interests of the town, and that, if Orange and Hoogstraeten should think it necessary, four hundred horse should be enlisted for the defence of the town and warships put in the river and guns on the walls.

Thanks to Orange, not a single life had been lost, and no very valuable property had been destroyed. But for him the Antwerp Calvinists would have joined the rebels at Austruweel and many of them must have been butchered by the Royal troops. So, too, his plans would have prevented the Austruweel rebels seizing the town in the unlikely event of their being the victors.

On the first day of the trouble the Calvinists had seemed all-powerful, and for a few hours on the second day the town was at their mercy, but by putting them in the minority Orange not only won a temporary victory, but put fear into them for the future.

It was evident that the new citizen troops were not all reliable, but the loyal majority gave the command of the town back to the magistrates, and showed that Orange was right when he expressed the view that their earlier enrolment would have prevented the image-breaking of the preceding August. Of course many thought Orange was influenced by other motives than those which met their eyes. Many Catholics said he had favoured the Calvinists and many Calvinists said he had favoured the Catholics. Enemies always accused him, as they did Hoogstraeten, of cowardice, but there was no sign of it during these days on which the lives of both of them were often in

danger, Orange riding bareheaded and unarmed among the rioters, while a shameless Beggars' preacher from Liège made as if to shoot him. He was still in the King's service and had not yet openly become even a Lutheran, and disliked the Calvinists, but it is incredible that he who had his spies everywhere did not know of the recruiting going on under his nose. Months before this the Catholics had suspected that he wanted to seize Walcheren, and now they thought, and with as much reason, that he would soon be in possession of Antwerp, and in fact he was in possession of it in the sense that he could only be driven out by force so long as the citizens wished him to remain, and after the recent humiliation of the Calvinists his will was likely to be law in the town. His detractors said that he and Hoogstraeten took money from both sides, and pictures were drawn of him with two faces, and two hands extended. Such people said of Hoogstraeten that when in danger on the Meer he wept tears "as large as peas," and of Orange that he was fainting with fear. Many whose opinions seem better worth having thought he had missed a unique opportunity by not overwhelming and disarming the Calvinists when, on the Saturday, it became evident their game was played out. The Margrave seems to have done little during the whole affair.

Even before the fight at Austruweel, Marco Perez had sought a promise from the English Government that he and his co-religionists should enjoy security in England, and now such people decided to leave the town. Every *prêche* attracted a smaller congregation. Perez went to Breda, much to the regret of Orange, who had come to think he might need his influence to check the Calvinists.

Margaret did not like the new Accord, finding it strange and exorbitant, and delayed ratifying it, foreseeing what influence the defeat at Austruweel and the failure of the Calvinists to capture Antwerp would have on Valenciennes. Valenciennes surrendered on the 24th of March, and on the next day came her answer. She said she had received instructions from the King forbidding her to confirm any contract with rebels, and that the only way to appease the King was to receive a garrison. This project had long been dear to many wealthy Catholics, and, as we have seen, rumours of attempts to carry it into effect had already caused disturbances. But some of the magistrates were opposed to such a breach of the Accord, yet they agreed that all preaching by the Protestants must cease in the town, and that the Catholic cult must be completely restored, the Protestant churches be closed, and an oath be taken to the King.

So, in the end, it seemed as if the Protestants would have been wiser had they spent their money on raising mercenaries and postponed the building of churches until their religion was securely planted in the town, for, two days after the magistrates

had thus evinced their desire to obey the Regent, the Lutheran and Calvinist ministers preached farewell sermons. Herman Modet, the chief cause of the troubles, had already fled with a price of six hundred gulden on his head.

Already, in March, the Regent had called on all governors to take a new oath of allegiance, which Orange said was unnecessary, and which he declined to take. At her suggestion he met Egmont and Mansfeld at Willebroeck. This last interview with Egmont finally convinced him that the Count would walk blindfold into some pit which Philip would dig for him, and he thought it best to provide for his own safety. He was well informed of all that was plotted in Spain. Returning to Antwerp from Willebroeck, he resigned all his offices, and informed Margaret of his intention of retiring to his town of Breda. At Easter, Hoogstraeten and the magistrates attended High Mass in Our Lady's Church, but Orange was not there; people said he had been made ill by some disturbing news which had just reached him. Deputies from the Calvinists came secretly to his lodging to ask his advice as to what course they should take. He advised them to look towards Germany for help—advice which their dislike of the Confession of Augsburg made them refuse—whereupon he said they had better, in that case, raise five or six hundred thousand gulden for their protection; but it was noticed that he did not say plainly what was in his mind. On the 11th of April he departed to Breda, and thence to Dillenburg. With him rode out a body of four or five hundred halberdiers he had recently recruited among the burghers, wearing gilt morions and black armour. He took with him his wife and daughter, having withdrawn the latter from the Regent's Court, but he left his eldest son to continue his studies at Louvain. A crowd of gentlemen and merchants went at the same time. Pontus Payen remarked how sorry they were to leave the most beautiful and flourishing province in Europe, where they had been so kindly treated, to spend the rest of their lives among the rough and unsympathetic Germans. On the day after Orange's departure the Broad Council consented to receive a garrison into the town, and as a preliminary step began to disband the citizen soldiers. Then those who were charged with robbing churches, joining the recent riots and breaking the Steen were summoned to appear before the magistrates.

Louis of Nassau was already in Germany, and he was followed by Brederode, who first tried in vain to obtain a pardon. Hoogstraeten left Antwerp on the 18th of April, and after visiting Brussels and Malines went to Germany at the end of July. Among the *émigrés* were the Count of Culembourg, Jacob van Wesenbeke, Fernando de Bernuy, Anthony de Bombergen, Jan vander Noot, Jacob Hertsen, once Burgomaster, and the minister Villiers. The Catholics said several went without paying their

bills. From morning until night ships were being laden at the wharf with merchandise and furniture.

A deputation from the magistrates waited on Margaret and craved pardon for the past, promising that the town would be obedient now that it was freed from the factious portion of the inhabitants. She was pleased to see the deputies, but told them that nothing could be forgiven until her garrison had been received into the town. Now came Margaret's harbinger to make preparations in the houses round St. Michael's Abbey for Madame's suite, and the people learnt that she herself was coming.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 26th of April, sixteen companies of Walloons entered by St. George's Gate under the German Count Mansfeld and his son Charles. The citizen soldiers were full of indignation about their sudden demobilization, for their excellent pay was to be given to the Walloons, whom they had no desire to see in the town at all. There was talk of opposing them, and some did make a stand at St. George's Gate, but a pitched battle was not to their liking. In order to strike terror into the citizens the Walloons marched in as they would into a hostile town with arquebuses loaded. The disbanded citizen soldiers had to bring in their arms next morning, but quarrels between them and the Walloons were constantly arising, and several on both sides were hanged. Many of the Walloons had just been in garrison at Ghent and had come away without paying what they owed; indeed, they could not help themselves, for, although they had not been six months with the colours, their pay was in arrears.

Margaret herself arrived on the 28th of April with a number of Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, including the Duke of Arschot, Count Egmont, Baron Berlaymont, and escorted by three of the Bands of Ordonnance, as well as her bodyguard under Beauvoir. At the north door of Our Lady's Church she was met by the clergy and conducted to the High Choir, and she wept on seeing how much the church had been injured. *Te Deum* was sung and the Dean, Roger de Taxis, preached, and then she went on to the Royal lodging in St. Michael's Abbey. She was not badly received. Nearly every one who had reason to fear her had fled and peaceful citizens were glad to see order restored. Even Spanish and Italian merchants began to bring back their property from the quieter town of Malines, whither they had conveyed it, and every day much was done to refurnish the churches and chapels and re-establish the Catholic religion. Soon priests could even carry the Holy Sacrament with bell through the streets to the sick and dying, which they had not been able to do since the image-breaking. Hours and lauds and all the offices were resumed, and processions made. On May Day Margaret went to St. James's Church to hear Mass and a sermon

by the famous French Grey Friar, who had added to his reputation by preaching all through Lent in this parish church against the teaching of Luther and Calvin. One day she heard Mass, with her suite, in the Grey Friars' church, perhaps to show her sympathy with them in the persecution to which they had been subjected and her disbelief in the truth of the charges brought against them. No Omgang was held on Trinity Sunday because the relic of the Circumcision had been stolen by the pillagers. On Holy Sacrament Day, Margaret attended High Mass in the great church, celebrated by the Bishop of Cambray and the canons, and after it a procession was formed in which the bishop carried the Holy Sacrament and the Regent walked with Count Egmont. The Knights of the Fleece—with their ladies and retainers—took part in it, and so did all the ecclesiastics, the magistrates, and the members of the Guilds. Quite four thousand tapers were carried and the streets were decorated with altars, tapestries, and pictures.

Maastricht had now fallen into Margaret's hands, and the road to Germany was secured just as that to France had been by the capture of Valenciennes. Turnhout and Bois-le-Duc soon followed and Zeeland was firmly secured. On reaching Breda, Orange wrote to Margaret that it was his intention to retire to Germany, and he wished her good-bye, stating at the same time that he would always remain a loyal subject. Mansfeld was made Governor of Antwerp—a new office—and he was henceforth the noble on whom Margaret most relied. Having collected the arms of the disbanded citizen troops, he took possession of the town's artillery. Powder-making was forbidden, and the selling of it as well, unless by certain retailers to travellers. Malines was the only place at which it could be bought, even by the retailers. The houses in the town were searched for arms; none might carry arms even on the common excuse that they were on their way to taverns outside the town. Loafers were forbidden to gather in groups to chatter; a list of all capable of bearing arms was made; none were to run into the street if a commotion arose. When street-fighting was expected it was the custom for the people to take large stones to the highest stories of the houses to be dropped down on heads below, and it was now ordered that all of these should be carried down.

The Regent behaved with great cunning about the erection of a castle to overawe the town, a project which had been long considered. She so worked on those who had something to lose by disorder that it almost seemed as if the town itself asked that it should be built. Thus the opposition was lessened if not removed, and although no one desired the building of a castle so much as the King, yet he seemed hardly to have thought of it, and, best of all, he could say that those who desired it must pay for it.



PORTRAIT OF THE DUKE OF ALVA

A COPY, WITH VARIATIONS, NOW AT BRUSSELS, OF A PORTRAIT MADE ABOUT 1559 BY ANTONIO MORO OR SOME OTHER ANTWERP PORTRAIT-PAINTER

The Earl of Sussex was in Antwerp in July, on his way to the Emperor with the Garter, and he wrote that although some thought the building of a castle would ruin the town, yet the trading portion of the community and the rich citizens favoured it, provided the Inquisition and all foreign troops were kept out, for it would secure them from popular tumult.¹

In the middle of May ambassadors sent by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and other German princes reached Antwerp and were received by Margaret. They demanded that the Confession of Augsburg should be admitted in the Provinces, or that at least toleration should be granted to those who professed it. Their appeal fell on deaf ears, and they were regarded with suspicion during their three days' stay in the town. The Emperor's ambassador entertained them at supper and invited Egmont, Mansfeld, Berlaymont, and others to meet them, but none dared to accept lest they should offend the Regent. A certain number of those who had taken part in pillaging churches and in the fight at Austruweel were caught and hanged, but there was no general persecution of heretics, and only such as these and the ministers who had led folk into heresy were proceeded against.

The outrageous conduct of the Walloon garrison went some way towards preparing the unfortunate townspeople for the visitors they were to have with and around them for the next ten years—Spaniards, Italians, Germans. For instance a well-to-do shopkeeper and his wife were embarking on board a ship alongside the quay on Holy Sacrament Day—perhaps after seeing the procession—when one of the Walloons who happened to be on the other side of the river, on the Flemish headland, caught sight of them and betted a companion he would shoot an harquebus across the river and make the bullet pass between the two. Somehow he killed them both. He was condemned to death for this, and was led to the Oever in front of the Mint to be executed there, but the headsman bungled his work badly, striking three times, so that the victim's comrades standing round drew their swords and would have killed the executioner if their officers had not interfered. Again, in June, a large body of them were ordered to march to the French frontier, and suspecting that they were going to be disbanded they pillaged houses, farms, and gardens outside the town, robbed people on the road, and broke into the leper house and insulted the priest and the nuns who served it. They rescued some of their comrades whom the Drossart of Brabant had locked up at Mercxem and would have killed the Drossart if he had not fled. Mansfeld had to lead out the rest of the garrison against them and hang thirty or forty on trees. Most of these rascals came from Luxemburg, which was not infected with heresy, and were Catholics,

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 471.

but they often shouted "Long live the Beggars!" in the streets merely to frighten the nuns and to see what effect the cry would have on the inhabitants. Experience taught the people of Antwerp to regard them as preferable to the soldiers who came later, although during their four months' residence in the town they killed and stabbed about one hundred persons. To them was given the task of demolishing the new Protestant churches, and to encourage them and to make up for the pay owing they were allowed to sell part of the materials.

In May the Bishop of Cambrai reconsecrated Our Lady's Church and the churchyard after desecration by the Beggars, and Margaret published a placard softening the punishment for wrong-doing in the matter of religion, but it was made void by another issued by Philip in July as being too mild.

Now that the ministers and chief heretics and those who had plotted against the Government had fled, Antwerp seemed like a body out of which a devil had been cast, and it was hoped the King would nurse it back to health with loving care. Perhaps Alva would not come after all, but Philip himself with his son Don Carlos, in August or September; some people hoped he would then set everything in order, leave the town protected from further tumults by a castle, and make the Provinces into a separate kingdom for his son.¹

In the middle of June, Margaret wrote to the King from Antwerp that the towns had submitted, that the country was quiet, and that there was nothing left to be done but to establish a good police, and she said that it did not appear to her to be necessary for Alva to come with such a force as had been prepared, that the mere report of it was making people leave the country, that if he came the hatred in which the people held him would be poured on the whole Spanish nation and the consequences would be fatal. She complained to the King of the unpleasant position in which she was placed when his orders came to break up privileges, turn out magistrates, build castles, confiscate goods, impose taxes without consent of the States-General and give no pardon, and, at the same time, disband her own troops. Philip was unwilling to adopt her wise counsel and drove her towards her own and the country's ruin by his commands. President Viglius was of her opinion about the coming of Alva and a foreign army.

Margaret caused the measurements for the new castle to be taken where the Abbey of St. Michael then stood, but otherwise let things stand still until she was compelled to revoke, by the placard of the 23rd of July, the aforesaid concessions made to the Protestants.

She invited the Earl of Sussex to dinner and told him she hoped his Queen did not believe any of the reports that cruelty

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. IV, p. 471.

was to be used in the Provinces, and said she doubted not that Philip when he came would be all clemency, as soon as his security was provided for, and that until he came it was not intended that any persons should be executed excepting certain ministers and some of the chief spoilers of churches, seditious persons, and rebels.¹

On Saturday the 18th of July, she and her suite left by barge to go to Brussels, and on the 30th proclamation was made that all her orders published since May were to be in abeyance until the King came, and on the next day all sectaries who had fled were ordered to return and every one was ordered to live at peace with his neighbour until the King put everything right.

But it was whispered that Alva was on his way with ten or twelve thousand Spaniards to reduce the Provinces. The pretence that the King was coming was so well kept up that ships were detained at Antwerp and made to unload their cargoes and lie ready for his service. But Philip had seen Antwerp for the last time. At the moment there was peace between England and Spain, but a tempest might have driven him into an English port, and if at her mercy Elizabeth might have extracted from him more than her grandfather did from his under similar circumstances seventy years before.

Margaret's policy had been no less successful in other parts of the country and garrisons had been received everywhere. If Germany was full of *émigrés* peace was restored to the Provinces. It still seemed as if there could be but one religion in the country and that the old Catholic Faith was that best suited to Brabant. Many who had professed the new religion and had been unable or unwilling to go into exile now pretended to be good Catholics, and went daily to Mass, attended Confession, received the Sacrament, and bribed the priests to testify that they had always lived as good Catholics. Priests had a good time, for many laymen who wished to curry favour kept open house to them and won their love by offering them tempting delicacies. Many citizens secured their own position by betraying their neighbours. As for the ecclesiastics, a rather unexpected thing happened. The Bishop of Cambrai being a good and just man, and feeling that certain scandals amongst the clergy had given the Protestants cause to find fault, wisely thought that now was the time to reform those of Antwerp in pursuance of the decrees of the Council of Trent. They, however, appealed to Rome against him, but so determined was he that he resorted to force and put soldiers in their houses. The Abbot of St. Michael's had found his community very disobedient lately, and he was heard to say that he did not mind if the castle was built on the site of his Abbey, as was proposed, so long as he got rid of his monks, who were "devils."

¹ Same, Vol. IV, p. 469.

Provost Morillon went over to Antwerp to see how things were going on and was convinced there were still preachers going about in disguise, that meetings were held by the sectaries in secret and psalms sung. He felt certain that it was from Antwerp that all the trouble had come, and that there was still more to do before the town was thoroughly purged of heresy—a curing process which would have to be completed even if the population had to be reduced to a smaller but better one, and even if commerce suffered. As it was, he only saw six small Biscayens at the Crane and eight or ten ships from Holland and Zealand in the New Town, when he was there in May. Mansfeld, the governor, said that the result of the publication of the placard of the 23rd of July, which withdrew the concessions, was that a thousand families left the town. The number of people who had left the Provinces during the last thirty to forty years was reckoned at about four hundred thousand.¹

At this moment one may recall that Cardinal Granvelle had always doubted whether Antwerp deserved her old prosperity, for, in his opinion, the inhabitants forgot their obligation to serve God and to support the Catholic religion, and the magistrates thought only of inducing people to come and trade in the town without regard to what kind of people they were, so that Antwerp had received the dregs of the Provinces and, indeed, of other countries as well.

¹ Blok, "The History of the People of the Netherlands," Vol. III, p. 38.

CHAPTER V

ALVA

ALVA'S approach was announced to the people of Antwerp on the 13th of August, 1567, by the arrival of twelve companies of German lansquenets from Tyrol and the country round the Lake of Constance. In all they numbered between three and four thousand men and were under the command of Count Lodron (really Lodroni) an Italian officer.

They remained at Borgerhout and Berchem until, on the next day, the Walloon garrison was withdrawn, and then they entered the town and in their rear marched a company of women, whose standard was carried by a girl in a velvet cap with a plume of feathers. Mansfeld and the magistrates intended to put the lansquenets in the billets usually assigned to soldiers, but someone warned Lodron not to let them be put into any of the houses in the New Town or along the quay because the inhabitants of those parts intended to do them some mischief, and much time was spent finding them other quarters, during which they waited in battle order on the Market Place and the Meer. A German company was twice the size of a Walloon, so the Antwerpensers jokingly said they had profited a hundred per cent by the exchange of the one for the other, which was more than the Fuggers and Welsers got. Lodron was a strict disciplinarian, and as long as his Germans were paid they behaved well—much better than the Walloons whose place they had taken. They were rough soldiers, and did not, like the others, demand feather beds, but could sleep on a bundle of straw or on the hearth, and were grateful for a plateful of fish left over from their host's dinner. Bad times had so reduced the resources of the inhabitants that many had to endure the annoyance of these men's presence in their houses who would formerly have compounded by a weekly payment to keep them out. At first two or three only were billeted in a house, but the number was increased to six at least, as more soldiers came to the town, and the lower part of the house and the key of the front door had to be given up to them.

No sooner had these Germans appeared than the image of the Virgin was put up again in her chapel, and it was carried along the streets on the day of the August Omgang, while they stood in order of battle on the Market Place and the Oever; and they did not go off duty until it was safely back in the great

church. So by their help the cult of the Virgin was re-established. They came from Catholic countries and most of them seem to have been of that religion. The cause of the heretics seemed lost in the town, and on the day of the Omgang the Abbot of St. Bernard's, who had for some time preached Luther's doctrines, betrayed his fear of what treatment he would receive from Alva by fleeing from the Abbey with the woman he was going to marry, and—so the Catholics said—with a large sum of money taken from the Treasury. His flight was, perhaps, in pursuance of advice given by his friend Orange, and he probably knew that Philip had ordered his arrest early in the summer.

It was expected that Alva would come himself to Antwerp before going to Brussels—about the 20th of August—and that he would lodge in Hoogstraeten's house in Tanners Street, but the citizens had to wait in suspense until October.

Now for the first time the King was about to apply excessive cruelty to the Netherlands. He had reluctantly yielded point after point to the demands of the people. He had delivered Antwerp from her bishop and the Inquisition, had withdrawn the Spanish veterans, and later the Cardinal. The image-breaking, the sacking of churches and the raising of troops, with the affair at Austruweel as a result, had made him decide on a different course. Violence was to be called in to cure the country of its fever of violence. When, in 1539, Ghent had become insubordinate Charles V had hastened to strike terror into all towns by show of force. Now Alva—hated for his cruelty in Italy—and his Spanish veterans were to terrorize and perhaps decimate the population of the whole country if further opposition was offered to Philip's wishes. Up to the time of his arrival Margaret continued to beseech Philip not to let Alva and his soldiers undo the good work she had done in quieting the country. It was for a long time pretended that Alva came only to prepare the country for the King's arrival, and bets were made on the Antwerp Bourse as to when the latter would appear. In this way a fairly favourable reception was secured for Alva and his army.

On the 22nd of August the new Captain-General entered Brussels at the head of ten companies of Spaniards. His whole army consisted of some nine thousand infantry drawn from the Spanish army in Italy and Sardinia and some twelve hundred Italian and Albanian cavalry, besides Lodron's Germans. At Brussels he was welcomed by deputies sent by the magistrates of Antwerp, who pointed out to him that all was now quiet in the town, and told him that the recent troubles had been the work of strangers and rascals "under cover of religion." The Duke thanked them for their welcome. The magistrates had yet to learn that a new regime was established, that Alva had been sent not only to punish those guilty of image-breaking and

insurrection and to stamp out heresy, but also to make the Seventeen Provinces completely dependent on the will of the King.

Count Mansfeld and his wife had been laughed at for the almost regal style in which they had lived during the former's governorship of Antwerp, but he was regarded by Alva as leaning too much towards clemency, and so was made to hand over his post to Lodron.

In the interval between Alva's arrival and his first visit to Antwerp there were a few important occurrences. The demeanour of the Captain-General and his officers made it feared that there might be some arrests and executions, and it was known that Margaret was anxious to resign the Regency lest she might appear responsible for what she disapproved of.

One of Alva's first cares was to renew the order for the publication of the Edicts of the Council of Trent and of the placards, and he directed that a list should be drawn up of persons who had subscribed to the Compromise of the Nobles or shown favour to the heretics or taken part in disorders. On the 9th of September, Anthony van Straelen, still Chief Burgomaster, and two gentlemen started for Brussels in a coach drawn by three horses. He had been summoned thither by Margaret at Alva's request. When they reached the chapel known as "Old God" at Luithagen, which was a deserted spot a mile along the road from Antwerp, he was arrested by Lodron at the head of a party of horsemen and taken to Lierre. On the same day soldiers took possession of his country house at Mercxem and of his town house with the beautiful tower in Kipdorp, with all their contents, and his wife and children were turned out into the streets. There was consternation among the townspeople when this was known, for van Straelen was beloved and was known as "the good Burgomaster," and it was not lessened when this proved to be part of a plan which had provided for the arrest of Egmont and Horn on the same day at Brussels.

His friends never saw van Straelen again. His houses and goods were declared forfeit, but they were not in fact taken from the family. He himself was driven from Lierre to Brussels and thence to Vilvoorde Castle, where, in the September of the following year, he was beheaded after being horribly tortured. If he were bitten by the new religion he did not depart from the old, and within a few days of his arrest he asked that Mass might be celebrated in the house in which he was detained. His abhorrence of the cruelty of the Inquisition made him look more than once across the Rhine with the feeling that Antwerp might be in better case under the protection of the Empire, but he preferred loyalty to Philip. His great services to the town were remembered by every citizen, for he had been skepyn in many a year and Burgomaster five times. We have seen him as Head-

man of The "Violet" at the great Landjewel and as Orange's supporter among the rioters on the Meer. The charges against him were that he had favoured heresy, particularly that of Luther, and had planned with Orange, Egmont, Horn, and Wesenbeke to introduce the Confession of Augsburg; that, as a magistrate, he had not punished those who worked on feast-days or those who sold meat in Lent or on other fast days; that he had allowed and encouraged the preaching of heretics, and that he and other magistrates had kept off those who might have stopped the image-breaking, and so on. It was forgotten that he had soothed men in the spring before the image-breaking, and had offered the Dominicans laymen's clothes to hide them from the Calvinists during the Meer riots. It had been recorded against him that he had gone to Germany in 1562 to see what the Emperor or the Diet would do for Antwerp, and Philip hated him for being friendly with Orange, for during the Prince's residence in Antwerp they lived next door to each other and often dined and supped together.

Horn's arrest was greatly bewailed in the town, for he was always popular there; but Egmont was not much pitied, people saying that he had been the first beginner of the troubles with his "fools' liveries" and then the first to break away from the patriots, having been bribed, they alleged, by the clergy to desert the popular cause.

All was quiet, and it was possible to burn four Anabaptists before the Town House on Saturday the 13th of September. With the exception of a woman drowned in November, 1566, no members of this hated sect had perished since November, 1562; and during the whole of that time no other heretics had been executed in Antwerp for offences relating only to their religion, excepting Fabricius and two other Calvinists. A number of persons who were heretics had been hanged for breaking images, robbing churches, and assaulting Walloons of the garrison, but the Margrave's clemency during the four years preceding the fight at Austruweel and the crushing of the first rebellion had allowed the audacity of the heretics and the vagabonds who mixed with them to increase enormously. Alva's arrival inspired that officer with a desire to exhibit his returning zeal, and almost the first news the new Captain-General had of Antwerp was that he had arrested a party of Anabaptists in a house in a street called The Schelleken near the quay, and the four who were burnt in September were their chiefs. They were tied back to back, strangled, and then burnt. The Market Place was lined with German soldiers, and in the middle of it was a little hut which was set on fire with the victims inside it. During these weeks a certain number of persons were beheaded, hanged, or sent to the galleys for image-breaking, stealing in churches, or taking part in the fight at Austruweel.

For some weeks there was room for belief that Alva's severity would be turned only against those who, like Egmont, Horn, and van Straelen, could be accused of being prime movers in the late troubles or such as had been guilty of open violence, and this hope was strengthened by an assurance that no proceedings would be taken against such of the artisan class and humble folk who had been led into error through ignorance, provided they showed themselves good Catholics in future and loyal to the King. But the arrests which had been made had frightened the more important citizens, and thousands planned to seek safety in flight. It was therefore necessary to proclaim that none should quit the town either alone or with his family or remove his furniture or merchandise or money without a month's notice given to the magistrates and leave from them obtained, under pain of being held to have taken part in the troubles and of being dealt with accordingly. This prohibition applied to every one and was a blow at commerce, and a slight modification did little to lighten it. Wagoners and sea-captains were forbidden under heavy penalties to help anyone to escape, and officials were posted on the roads and the river to examine passports.

The Catholics were delighted because Alva was able to keep the country so well in hand that affairs in France, where the Second Civil War had broken out, led to no sympathetic risings. For some weeks he was occupied with preparing a force to send to the help of the King of France. When it was ready and his new Council of Troubles set in working order, he turned his thoughts to the subjugation of Antwerp.¹ He had already sent thither Ciappin Vitelli, Gabriel Serbelloni, and the Italian engineer Pacciotto, to select the best site for a castle. The choice lay between that of the old Burg in the middle of the quay, that of St. Michael's Abbey, which was rather higher ground than that close by, the Kattendyke just outside the Mud Gate, and Kiel outside the Kroonenburg Gate. The first two seemed impossible on account of the large number of valuable houses and plots of land which would have to be purchased, and the third position was so low-lying that it could have been flooded by an enemy cutting the dikes, but otherwise seemed by far the best, for its guns could have prevented an enemy coming up the river to the town. The building of the castle was, however, not for the town's protection, but for its subjugation, and so the ground between the Kroonenburg Gate and Kiel at the south of and above the town was chosen, at that time covered with mills, kitchen-gardens, and villas. Pachiotto drew the plans and was put in charge of the work. The owners of property taken over or destroyed were compensated, but not in their opinion according

¹ The Council of Troubles held its first sitting in the middle of September, 1567.

to justice, and much more land was taken than seemed to be required, for an esplanade of sixty hectares stretched between the castle when finished and the town.

Alva arrived at Antwerp at about three o'clock on the afternoon of Friday the 24th of October, riding in with light horse and demilances in blue and red uniforms and wearing morions, but no other armour. With the cavalcade rode two friars, and as it came in sight the people cried, "A fox, a fox." Alva was met by Lodron and the German officers and rode to the Royal lodging in St. Michael's. This was not the Duke's first visit to Antwerp, for he had come to it several times during Charles's reign and had, indeed, been appointed by that monarch in 1540 to sit on a committee to consider how the plan to build a castle could best be carried out, the engineer then being the Italian Pellizuoli of Bergamo. Alva was now aged fifty-nine, and so only about eight years older than he appears in his portrait in the Brussels Gallery. On the day after his arrival he visited the site chosen for the castle with Lodron, the Margrave, the Amman, and the Spanish officers. Work on it was begun at once, and he stayed in the town until the walls were high enough to form a defence. As many as two thousand workmen were employed at one time on it, kept in order by the sight of a gibbet and a pillory. A fine old landmark went with the demolished buildings, namely, the Kroonenburg Tower at the south corner of the town, which was said to have stood there, with a gilt Imperial crown on its summit, since the year 422 marking the limit of the Holy Roman Empire; in late years its garden had been a shooting-ground for the Guild of Harquebusmen. A great piece of the town wall between the Kroonenburg Tower and St. George's Gate was thrown down—that is to say, along the rue Bervoet the rue Terninck, and the rue des Escrimeurs—and the town laid open to the castle. Until the castle was finished the citizens were to pay for the maintenance of Alva's troops in the town and in the villages. Also four hundred thousand gulden had to be paid towards the cost of erecting it, the King finding one million to complete the sum required. To raise the town's share the Broad Council had to impose or increase taxes on freeholds and leaseholds, on meat, poultry, wine, and beer. By Lent in the following year it was finished on the town side, but the rest not until 1572. It had five bastions, which were named Duke Ferdinand, Toledo, Alva, and the fifth Pacciotto. When finished the Italian officer Serbelloni was made commandant.

Until Alva brought a force of them into the town the townspeople had not seen much of the Spaniards. A few came sometimes to enjoy themselves, and on more than one occasion such stragglers from the army were insulted and injured. Those whom Alva brought behaved very much better than their comrades in other parts of the Provinces, but disturbances arose, as

when a party of them, after a masquerade, quarrelled in a private house and three persons were killed before they were quieted. If a German soldier stole or assaulted anyone Lodron hanged him or sent him to Hungary to fight against the Turks, but he could not do that with Spaniards.

We get a few glimpses of Alva during his first stay in the town. On Sunday, the 26th of October, he went in state with Count Meghem to hear Mass in the great church, and on the 2nd of November to hear a sermon at the Grey Friars. He told the magistrates that the first of all measures now to be taken by them must be for the re-establishment of the ruined churches and monasteries.

Gossips said he was going to make a road from his castle into the heart of the town, which would involve the destruction of many fine buildings, and that the tower of Our Lady's Church, which was always recognized as of military importance, was to be destroyed, but he left Antwerp on the 29th of November, appearing not to be displeased with the town. He was assuming a clemency which was not natural to him in order that he might get his castle built and his garrison of Spaniards established. He pretended that he was not going to punish unimportant persons for things past, intending when these objects were achieved to act more as he felt Philip would have him do. He assured the magistrates that when the castle was finished Lodron's Germans would be withdrawn from the town into it. He returned to Antwerp on the 1st of December and watched the castle's growth.

Philip the Good had fortified the Burg at Antwerp against the inhabitants, and Charles V had planned what Philip and Alva brought into existence ; but all these people had forgotten what Machiavelli wrote about the building of castles in a town by a prince to help him hold it in subjection. The best fortress, wrote the Florentine, is to keep from being hated by the people, for although you may hold fortresses yet they will not save you if the people hate you. Nothing made the Spaniards more hated in Antwerp than the use to which they put this castle, and it ultimately played little part in keeping the town for the King. Granvelle advocated building castles at Valenciennes, Bois-le-Duc, Maastricht, Amsterdam, and Groningen, all to be garrisoned by Spaniards under a commandant appointed by the King, as should be the commandant of those already standing at Cambray, Tournay, Ghent, and Utrecht.

At the end of the year Margaret of Parma departed, Alva having become Governor-General some time before. She was sorry to go before a pardon for all but the ringleaders and notorious offenders had been proclaimed, for she had always favoured clemency when it was possible. Before starting she wrote to Philip begging him to show mercy and said : " I ask Your

Majesty to remember that the greater Kings are, and the nearer they are to God, so much the more ought they to be imitators of the Divine Goodness and Clemency ; that all the princes who have reigned over this country have always been contented to punish the leaders of sedition, that they have pardoned the rest of the people, saying that their repentance alone is sufficient.”¹ Bentivoglio says that he cannot describe how much love she left among the people, for she was herself of their nation and they thought her benign, affable, and just, though with spirit and with constancy in affairs. Her Government was tempest-tossed, yet she steered her course with honour, and finally found herself in calm waters. Her disappearance from the Netherlands was soon followed by that of Brederode from the world, for he died in Germany.

It was noticed that the year 1568 was heralded by portents and disasters which seemed to men in the state of mind in which the Netherlanders were to foretell strange events. A boy was born at Liège with two heads, four feet, and four hands, clearly announcing a monster confederation of some kind. A spark falling into gun-powder at the mills at Malines caused an explosion which shook all Brabant.

Alva was always in need of money. He fared, in this respect, no better than any other regent or governor-general, for Philip had little to send from Spain and his credit was too bad for him to borrow. Business at Antwerp had so shrank at this time that nothing could be taken up there. The King of France tried to borrow and could not. Alva found he could not raise a real for Philip, to whom he wrote that he could not get on with the little money he had, and was not likely to get anything from the country or to be lent anything by the merchants on the security of what the proposed confiscations were to produce, until the profitable nature of the game he was going to play was known.² The first result of his penury was his inability to pay his troops, and in January, 1568, the Germans in Antwerp mutinied and cut their red Burgundian crosses from their uniforms, saying they would not wear these well-known insignia of a master who did not pay them. They were compelled to pay for the damage done to the uniforms, or rather twice the value of them, and to put the crosses on again. Many of the troops deserted and went to Italy, Spain, or France.

There were still clandestine meetings of Protestants in Antwerp, and Alva sent the Provost of the Court or Red Rod of Brabant, nicknamed “ Spelleken ” or “ Spelle,” to the town, knowing that he would be more energetic than the Margrave. This office was still held by Jean Grauwels and his jurisdiction was confined to cases of high treason and rebellion. He pounced

¹ Gachard, “ Philip,” Vol. I, p. 602.

² Same, p. 597.

on eight persons on the night of the 5th of February, dragged them from their beds, and locked them up in a house named the "Angel" on the Sand, on the river, which was his own prison, although they were *poorters*. Next night he seized some Walloons at the Guesthouse who were alleged to have sacked churches and put them with the others. Their offence being regarded as lese-majesty might make the arrest in order, but his putting *poorters* in any other prison than the Steen was a breach of privilege, and the magistrates complained to Alva and he ordered that they should be put in the Steen until their trial before the Vierschare. The magistrates and the Broad Council had to be kept in a good enough humour to grant the taxes he required. On the 9th of February, Spelleken dragged some more *poorters* from their beds and there was much murmuring among the people. Proclamations were issued at Antwerp against Orange, Hoogstraeten, Marco Perez, Bombergen, and Wesenbeke, and those who had held or attended unlawful meetings. The method was to summon a person who had fled to appear before the magistrates within a certain time, and if he did not obey to confiscate his property. Men and women were now so treated in batches of forty or fifty for alleged misdoings against the King. As for a general pardon, Alva advised Philip to postpone it until the towns had been punished, money extorted by fines and confiscations, and privileges modified. He pointed out that such a pardon would remove the fear of death which at present hung over every one, and with that would go his best means of crushing money out of those against whom charges could be brought.

As further evidence of Philip's nature came the news to the Bourse that he had arrested his son, Don Carlos, and then came news of the arrest of the Count of Buren, the eldest son of William of Orange, a student at Louvain University. On the 16th of February the latter young man was brought to Antwerp by Lodron prior to his embarking for Spain. He was entertained by Lodron, from whom he begged the life of some German soldiers condemned to death, and thereby won some popularity among the soft-hearted.

The Friday Market—which was the Old Clothes Market, on which stands Plantin's printing-house—had become the scene of Anabaptist preaching, but those who attended fled before they could be arrested. They had used the cellar of a house named the "Red Hat," and most of them were old-clothes-men and lived in the market or close by. Spelleken went on arresting *poorters* and others at night, and among them was Willem Silvius the printer. He was accused of having taken part in the image-breaking, but nothing could be proved against him, and he was discharged after six weeks, which was not before ruin had overtaken him and his six small children and his six poor apprentices,

for there had been no one to look after his business and he found his best workmen had left him, probably despairing of seeing him again. His printing-house—"The Golden Angel"—stood on the Brewers Gate Bridge.

When the first anniversary of the riot on the Meer came round the magistrates held a procession in which the Holy Sacrament was carried in thankfulness to God for His care and protection of papists' blood and burghers' gold from the Calvinists, and a new Crucifix was put up on the rood-screen of the great church, more beautiful than that which had been thrown down.

On the 17th of March three Anabaptists were burnt alive in the Market Place—a man and his two sons. Many executions took place in Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and Antwerp of Calvinists and of those concerned in the image-breaking and church-robbing. At Antwerp the Calvinists dared to preach in two hoys off Austruweel. The Gueux were again trying to recruit in the town and Spelleken made inquiries at all the inns about a certain captain, and it was announced that all soldiers who enlisted in Philip's service would receive magnificent pay. The town was full of talk in April of levies being made by Orange and other nobles in Friesland and Gronigen, and it was said that by the end of May they would "be all here in Brabant for to vysett the Ducke de Alva with his Spanyoldes," and the English in Antwerp thought it would mean a general rising, for even Papists had come to see that Alva meant to enslave them, and the people in the streets were asking the Burgomasters as they passed if there was any chance of the Cardinal coming back, for their recollection of his administration made them prefer him to Alva. Lodron tortured *poorters* of Antwerp in the castle and in Spelleken's prison contrary to privileges. The castle was so far finished by the end of April that the first Mass could be sung in its chapel, and part of the German garrison was moved into it from the town, the frippery men being made to find their beds and furniture, and Sancho d'Avila was made commandant.

The Count of Arenberg having completed a campaign in France, whither Alva had sent him against the Huguenots, passed through Antwerp on his way North to take command against Louis of Nassau, who had invaded the country at the head of a body of lansquenets. Orders were issued in Antwerp against spreading false news, for the most mischievous stories were circulated about the preparations the Beggars were making. On the 23rd of May, Louis of Nassau defeated Arenberg at Heyligerlee. Alva was at Antwerp on the 30th of May and himself replenished the Board of Magistrates.

On the 5th of June, Egmont and Horn were beheaded at Brussels, and it seems to have been on the same day that a disturbance occurred in Antwerp. Lodron had ordered three

young men, the sons of leading citizens, to be hanged for clambering into the town over the half-finished wall by the castle after the town gates had been closed for the night. They had been feasting in the country and got past the first sentry by bribery. The disturbance arose very suddenly when they were led to execution, and all shops and business houses were closed. Lodron had to give way to the prayers of important citizens and release the young men. The people were not pacified, and there was more trouble three or four days later. Some of the German soldiers were on guard on the Flemish bank of the river and one of them killed one of a party in a rowing boat—apparently unintentionally. The other occupants of the boat all leaned to one side and upset it. The Germans in the castle ran to arms, fearing they would be set upon. Nothing else happened, but we can see that the Germans were becoming unpopular.

A letter from Alva to Philip dated the 9th of June described what he was doing to carry out the King's orders. He said that he was giving exemplary punishment to the chief men of the country who had been concerned in the troubles and to the most culpable among the people; that he was doing his best to replenish the treasury; that he was searching offices and shops; that he was setting up schools and enforcing the placards; that he was settling the matter of the bishoprics and punishing the towns and applying their revenues as seemed good to him. When this was carried through it would, he thought, be time for the General Pardon, but before it was granted a large sum of money must be drawn from certain people by letting them compound for their offences. Also the Inquisition must be re-established after the Pardon. He said the nature of the Netherlanders was such that kindness on the King's part would win their obedience more easily than his present harshness.¹ The difficulty is to find out what Philip and Alva meant by kindness to the Netherlanders.

When the Antwerp magistrates protested that the arrest of some citizens was contrary to the Accord made with Margaret of Parma, Alva rebuked them for taking the part of heretics, and told them that the King would rather lay the country bare of inhabitants and let it stand a wilderness than let such an evil spirit as heresy wander in it. Among the great merchants who fled from the town was François Borneilge, a little man of mean appearance but much wealth, whose father had gone to Bourse in his coach. François offered to pay two hundred thousand gulden for an amnesty for himself, although he had already removed all his property excepting some twenty thousand guldens' worth; but his offer was not accepted. Rumour had it that at Valenciennes, Tournay, Antwerp, and Ghent more than eight thousand persons were going about their business in

ignorance that their names were on the list of suspects which had been drawn up.

The Duke of Alva paid another visit to Antwerp on the 28th of June on his way to Bois-le-Duc, for having executed Egmont and Horn he was free to meet Louis of Nassau in the field and wipe out the disgrace of Heyligerlee. Two Anabaptists had been burnt on the 1st of June, and on the 10th of July an old tailor of seventy years, who had permitted preaching in his cellar, was executed on the Market Place with another heretic and a murderer.

News of Alva's victory over the Gueux at Jemmingen on the 21st of July reached the town on the day after the battle, and a fortnight afterwards a general procession of the Holy Sacrament was held to give thanks for it. While the procession was slowly meandering through the town a scavenger, contrary to orders, drove his cart through it and was flogged for so doing at the English Bourse, where the offence was committed, and then at the Town House, and after that he was banished for eight years. The sentence seems severe, but it was generally admitted that his conduct had upset a procession in which people had shown a devotion to which they had been strangers for many years, and his cart full of filth only just missed overturning the Holy Sacrament Itself. If Lodron and his halberdiers had not rescued him the people would have kicked him to death.

On the 14th of August another heretic was burnt. Arrests of citizens at night continued, particularly of schoolmasters. It was forbidden to teach children or to hold a school without being licensed, and a schoolmaster had to put out a sign to show of what kind his school was.

After the battle of Jemmingen, Alva returned to Brussels and ordered the decapitation of van Straelen, which was carried out in Vilvoorde Castle on the 24th of September, the poor victim having to sit in a chair, being, as some said, so broken by torture, or else so crippled by his old enemy the gout, that he could not kneel.

A man was burnt on the 25th of September for breaking images, and a number were beheaded or hanged during the autumn of 1568 for rebellion or image-breaking in the two preceding years.

Towards the end of August, Lodron and his Germans left Antwerp and joined Alva's army, and in their place came the Count de Reulx with companies of Spaniards and Walloon recruits, not yet fit for service in the field. The Spaniards were sent into the castle and the Walloons into the town. The citizens soon fell out with the new-comers for their unbounded insolence. In broad daylight both Spaniards and Walloons would snatch at the caps and cloaks of passers-by, they broke into houses quite openly and stole what they fancied, they violated girls and

married women, so that de Reulx had to put some of them in chains. Every day there were riots in the castle and duels between the Spaniards and the Walloons in the streets, and many were killed and wounded. A story is told of a Walloon who committed some act of violence in a citizen's house while he was drunk. He was taken before de Reulx, to whom he was so insolent that he was sent to be hanged. When he was brought to the foot of the gallows it was found he was too drunk to walk up the steps and so he was strangled at their foot.

The Council of Troubles, or Blood Council, as the people called it, arrived in Antwerp on Monday the 1st of September, and the citizens had a chance of seeing Vargas and del Rio. It had, of course, no jurisdiction in Antwerp or right to be there at all, and was a form of Inquisition, so its members had to be guarded by soldiers.

Lodron's men had gone to form the army which Alva was concentrating to meet the *reiters* and lansquenets whom Orange was preparing to lead into the Provinces from the South. Hessian wagoners and traders, who were the only source of information for most people, reported in August that they had seen soldiers moving towards Cologne. It was thought that if Orange could cross the Meuse many would go out to join him.

The cause of the Protestants did not seem bright at this moment, for Louis of Nassau had been utterly defeated, and Antwerp merchants were told by their agents in France that La Rochelle was treating with the French King and that the Admiral and d'Andelot expected a collapse of the Huguenots. Optimistic Catholics thought Alva would secure a great victory over the Gueux and finally crush them and restore peace before winter.

Alva's sentence of him to death and the confiscation of his goods had driven Orange into his present attitude. He might have retired to Germany, but the only chance of re-establishing the fortunes of his family lay in his emerging as a leader of the party that proved successful in the struggle which was just beginning. He hoped for help from Condé and the Admiral, but they were not in a position to give it. Elizabeth could not hold out a hand to him for, as it was, the formation of a Catholic alliance against her seemed all too likely. His army consisted of eighteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse, mostly Germans, but there were many Flemings and Walloons amongst them. His standards bore the device "*pro lege, rege et grege,*" for he adopted the fiction that he was loyal to the King, who could not be supposed to approve of what Alva had done, and that he was doing the King a service in taking arms against the inhuman Governor-General. His design was to enter the Provinces near Liège, which town he hoped would rise in his

favour. A plan was made in Antwerp by which, if Alva suffered any serious reverse, the castle was to be seized for Orange or set on fire. In September, Hoogstraeten was holding up merchants on their way along the highroad from Germany to Antwerp and making them ransom themselves. He caught twelve Antwerp merchants and shopkeepers on the Rhine, among whom were Peter and Jan Bellerus, the well-known printers.

Orange crossed the Rhine and passing Aix made for Liège which did not rise for him. He occupied Stockhem and then crossed the Meuse by a brilliant movement on the night of the 5th of October, which took Alva by surprise; thence to Tongres. Alva's army lay at Maastricht, and now followed Orange from Tongres to St. Trond and into Brabant, where not a town rose for Orange, and he returned to Liège and thence towards France, burning abbeys and sacking the suburbs of towns as he went. Alva employed Fabian tactics throughout the campaign, which terminated on the 23rd of November, when Orange entered France.

When news reached Antwerp that Orange had crossed the Meuse and begun the campaign there was the greatest excitement, and had it not been for the castle the town might have declared in his favour. Alva sent messages to the magistrates expressing his confidence and saying the enemy were short of artillery and ammunition.

The plan to seize the castle was discovered and the chief traitors beheaded. On the Meer printed bills were handed about designed to create an uproar and the printers of them had to flee. The town was so denuded of troops before the campaign was over that watch and ward could not be kept unless by the Military Guilds. Orange was then at St. Trond and Léau, but nothing was done, and the merchants and shopkeepers did not part with their money to help the cause so easily as they had led him to suppose they would do. At one moment the Spaniards in the castle feared a rising and dragged some guns to the Market Place and other good positions. Many thought that if Orange had made straight for Antwerp he might have taken it, for the part of the wall which had been thrown down when the castle was built had not been re-erected; but the majority of the townspeople had shown no enthusiasm for the cause of the Gueux.

We must conclude that Alva's ill-treatment had not driven them to despair; things were not too bad. On the other hand, the seizure of merchants and their goods by Orange's troops on the roads had given great offence. A bad harvest would have told in Orange's favour by making the people more discontented, but that of this year was remarkably good. On the 12th of December, Alva broke up his army, returned to Brussels, and could spare fifteen hundred men to help the French King against

the Huguenots. Lodron went back to Antwerp and lodged in Tanners Street, where he was joined by Alva's son.

This year has already been spoken of as remarkable for the appearance of strange phenomena. After Egmont's execution it was said to have rained blood near Louvain, and while Orange was in the field the apparition of two armies in order of battle was seen in the sky on a clear night from several places.

The cause of the Gueux being now much on the wane its adherents sank in popularity, so that they seemed the worst of mankind and it became common to lay crimes at their door on no evidence at all. As a case in point may be cited that of a prominent monk, who was found drowned in the canal at Falcon's cloister. He had come to Antwerp on business connected with his monastery, and it was the opinion of many that the Gueux had pushed him into the water. However, others thought that it was the work of some who owed money to the monastery, for he was the only witness of certain debts due to it.

When the thanksgiving service was held for the defeat of Orange it seemed as if Alva in a little over a year had completely crushed the rebellion and stamped out the new religion. One person after another now ran to him in most indecent haste to denounce a relation or friend whom he used to see at meetings of heretics, and so forth. Alva showed his pride in what he had accomplished by setting up in Antwerp Castle a statue representing himself in armour holding a baton in his left hand and stretching his right towards the town, while he trampled under-foot a two-headed monster. It was made by Jongelinckx out of the guns captured at Jemmingen.

The winter 1568-69 was very severe, the cold weather beginning in November and continuing until the middle of February, and this, added to heavy taxation, caused great discontent; but with the cold weather came another calamity which brought far more distress into the town. We read that on the 29th of December Count Lodron by Alva's orders closed all the town gates in the evening and kept them closed for twenty-four hours, during which time search was made for the goods of all Englishmen in the town. The English House in Prince's Street¹ was seized and the English merchants put under the charge of a German captain.

In the Third Civil War in France, which had broken out in 1568, Elizabeth had helped the Huguenots with money, and if she could not send assistance to Orange she could sometimes prevent the sinews of war reaching Alva. Certain Genoese merchants had a large sum of money in Spain which they lent to Philip to pay his troops in the Netherlands, and it was shipped to Antwerp. As the ships were entering the English channel they were chased by some of Condé's privateers into Plymouth

¹ This was the House of Lierre.

and Southampton. At Elizabeth's command the money was taken out of the ships and brought to the Tower of London. She said it did not belong to Philip but to the Genoese merchants, and that she would hold it for them and pay them proper interest. Alva urged that the money belonged to Philip, and as a counterblast ordered the arrest of the English merchants and their goods in the Netherlands. When news of this arrived in London there was intense excitement in the streets among both the English and the merchant strangers. Elizabeth, of course, made reprisals, and almost before Alva could realize the situation he had embarked on a course which went far to ruin the Provinces, for, apart from loss of trade, English pirates began to ride the seas in greater numbers than before and preyed upon the ships belonging to Philip's subjects, whether Spaniards, Netherlanders, or Italians, and Elizabeth detained all that were driven into her harbours. Alva sent ambassadors to the Queen, but she cared little how long the negotiations continued.

Again the Merchant Adventurers had to take their cloths and other merchandise to Hamburg and Emden. The merchants who were at Antwerp were not at first actually confined to the English House, and might walk about the streets, but so many disappeared that they were ordered not to leave it without previously giving their names to the porter set there for the purpose ; however, in a short time all of them effected their escape, for which their jailer was imprisoned. On the 27th of March, a ship arrived at the Antwerp Wharf with the Bailie and the Burgomaster of Middelburg prisoners on board, for they had planned to betray that town to the English. This was a conspiracy to betray not only Middelburg but the whole of Zeeland. We can see in these early months of 1569 the beginning of that sea-warfare carried on by the English and Gueux pirates which culminated three years later in the successes which first caused the tide to turn against the Spaniards. By March there were some hundred English privateers, or rather pirates, at sea, plundering all ships which came from Spain, and it seemed as if war between England and Spain must come soon. Four companies of Lodron's Germans had been sent from Antwerp at the beginning of March to secure Flushing, the loss of which to the English would have been fatal to Antwerp.¹ In April the English seized eleven out of fourteen ships on their way from Portugal to Antwerp, and at that time they were detaining in their ports more than one hundred and twenty belonging to Philip's subjects with their large cargoes of merchandise and treasure. Netherland navigation was entirely suspended and little business was transacted at Antwerp. On the 6th of April, Alva forbade all commercial intercourse between the Netherlands and Hamburg,

¹ " Antwerpsch Chronykje," p. 186.

hoping to strike another blow at the English and bring them to terms.

The Antwerp chronicler holds the view that the Sea-Beggars first appeared in the September of this year (1569), having at first but one ship, and that it sailed from England. They were of those who had lost their money, rebels, discontented nobles, and gentlemen, exiles and fugitives from Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant, besides a large number of mariners who could not find employment. They soon had many ships and swept the sea from Holland to Friesland and sent their spoil to be sold in England. At night they landed to rob, to burn churches and cloisters, as well as farms and cottages.

Together with the quarrel with Elizabeth and its results had come other troubles from the renewal of the persecution of heretics and of the prosecution of those who had taken part in the recent disturbances. Ecclesiastics were not disappointed in their expectation that after the Christmas which followed his victorious campaign Alva would set himself to this task in a way which had only just become possible, and news of the beheading of burghers by the score at Valenciennes and Tournay reached Antwerp in January, but even now Antwerp heretics escaped the terrors experienced in other parts of the country. The Anabaptists, it is true, were hunted down and treated ruthlessly. Four were burnt alive on the 19th of March, 1569, and three on the 30th of the month. At the first of these executions there was a disturbance on the Market Place through the victims singing and calling to the people, and so at the second they were gagged. The method adopted was to put the tongue through a ring and singe it with a hot iron to make it swell—"very pitiful to see." Three Anabaptists were burnt on the 2nd of April, two more on the last day of the month, and four on the 25th of May. On the 22nd of June, two more were suffering on the Market Place, when the flames set fire to a wooden house named the "Fur Cloak," but it was soon extinguished. One man was burnt on the 12th of October and two girls and a woman on the 23rd of November. Commotion among the crowd at the executions of Anabaptists was not usually a sign of sympathy with the victims' views, but even Catholics were moved to pity by their sufferings.

We find a few rebels beheaded and hanged in February, 1569, for their share in the fight at Austruweel or the image-breaking, and the authorities regarded such people as Calvinists; but we do not find any proceedings against that sect for acts apart from rebellion until May. If the long frost caused fish to be very dear in the beginning of Lent, yet good Catholics rejoiced at the departure of so many Calvinists from the Provinces and the defeat of the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour. The first news of the former and of the death of Condé was brought

by a merchant from Paris, and preceded any received by the French ambassador at Brussels. False rumours had already given Condé a great victory. Moncontour was celebrated at Antwerp on the 23rd of October.

Books and pamphlets still seemed to be a great danger, and, in March, Alva closed all the book-shops and printing-offices in the town and throughout the Provinces until search could be made in them by the ecclesiastical state and the magistrates, a proceeding which the sufferers declared to be equivalent to bringing in the Spanish Inquisition. As a result some book-sellers were summoned to Brussels to answer accusations made against them. In the autumn a council of learned theologians of Louvain, to whom were added other learned men, including Arias Montanus, whom Philip had sent to help Plantin with the production of his Polyglot Bible, assembled at Brussels at Alva's summons and drew up an index of forbidden books, and they judged it necessary that the number of printers should be reduced, that their residence should be limited to the chief towns, and that they should be under supervision. To control the printing press, to prevent heretical books being imported, to punish schoolmasters who had taught heresy to their scholars "in the time of the Gueux" and to prevent their doing so again, were perhaps the most important cares of Alva, and none of these matters could be properly attended to in Antwerp unless a bishop was established there, and so Philip reverted to his original plan. But the bishop could not be easily introduced, and Alva ordered the magistrates, in the meantime, to appoint persons to watch in the churches on feast-days to see that no disturbance arose and others to accompany the Holy Sacrament when carried through the streets to the sick to preserve It from insulting treatment, and also to see that heretics were not buried in consecrated ground. Only Catholics were allowed to act as midwives, and it was made their duty to report to the *curé* within twenty-four hours if a child was born. Of course Alva provided that only Catholics should obtain places among the magistrates.

While the Pope was making up his mind to put in complete execution the Bulls of Paul and Pius concerning the erection of the bishoprics, Alva was trying to get the States-General to grant taxes, and he judged it wisest to dissimulate for a time, but as soon as that important matter was settled he named Sonnius, the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, to the See of Antwerp in accordance with powers conferred on him by Philip.

Prisoners were still brought before the Vierschare, but the military authorities and Spelleken had entirely ousted the Margrave. As already said no great move was made against the Calvinists for matters of religion only until May, 1569, at which time secret meetings were being held, and an old man who

had been an advocate was arrested as their leader. He was tortured and was reported to have betrayed some of his co-religionists. Anyway, a number of persons were arrested. The Broad Council had consented to deprive him of his *poorterschap*, and he was taken to Brussels, whence he managed to escape. Even now Alva could not treat a *poorter* just as he pleased, or, at all events, it was desirable to keep up the appearance of regarding the law to some extent. He ordered all Drossarts and officers in the Margraviate to look out for meetings in the fields and woods, and told them to raise a small force to put a stop to them, and said that if they did not obey in this he would send his own troops. On the 6th of August, two Calvinists were burnt alive on the Market Place for having allowed meetings to be held in their cellars, and there was trouble with the crowd at the execution. A third Calvinist, old and too weak to walk, was beheaded in the Steen for the same offence. Alva dared not burn many heretics in Antwerp, unless they could be described as Anabaptists, for he feared persecution would disincline the Antwerpers to open their purses. Sent to the Provinces without sufficient money and kept ill-supplied from Spain, he had been in a bad way when Elizabeth seized the treasure-ships. The nine years' Aid granted by the States-General in 1559 was about to expire, and it became necessary to demand a further grant. He wished the States-General to vote taxes in perpetuity so that he could dispense with their services for many years and yet be able to draw money from the Provinces. He demanded one per cent on all property to be paid at once and not again, five per cent on every transfer of real estate, and ten per cent on every sale of every article of merchandise or personal property, the last two to be paid by the vendor. The first tax was not heartily opposed, but the second was regarded as a confiscatory measure, and the third as certain to make trade and ordinary business impossible. The evil was postponed by the States-General consenting to the one per cent tax and compounding for the other two for two years by granting two annual payments, and this arrangement carried the question over to August, 1571, and up to that time little happened in Antwerp of any great interest beyond what arose out of the quarrel with the English and the treatment of the heretics.

Work had progressed at the castle, but it was not completed until 1572. Serbelloni had handed over his duties as commandant to Sancho d'Avila, who until recently had been Governor of the Castle of Pavia, and was to be of all his race the most hated in Antwerp. The account of the festivities in connexion with this man's wedding, however, throws a pleasant light through the gloom which shrouded the town in the summer of 1569. On the 8th of August, says the chronicler, in the evening, the gibbet which stood on the Market Place was taken down, and

the ground prepared for a tournament. This was on Monday, and on the previous Saturday two Calvinists had been burnt alive there, and a tumult had arisen among the spectators. D'Avila was to marry the daughter of Lopez Galia, the rich Spanish merchant of Bruges. On the following Saturday evening the bride and bridegroom crossed the Scheldt by ferry coming from Bruges and salutes were fired from the castle until they landed at the Beerhooft, where they were welcomed by the magistrates, and thence d'Avila was escorted by them to the Portuguese House in the Kipdorp in which he lodged. The wedding took place on the Sunday and was performed by one of the canons of Our Lady's, who was related to the bride. The tournament was held on the Monday afternoon on the Market Place and was attended by Spanish officers finely dressed—some with gilt armour, some with it silvered, and some with it damascened—who jousted together. In the evening there were the usual illuminations and fireworks in the streets and the magistrates gave a banquet and presented the bride and bridegroom with two thousand gulden. The town was said to have spent eight thousand gulden on the whole festivity, which included games on horseback on the Meer Bridge before the house of Antonio del Rio, the bride, with many ladies, watching from a window. The sport consisted of tilting at the ring on horseback and the trappings of the horses were of gold and silver cloth. Fernando de Toledo, the Grand Prior, the natural son of Alva, gave a great banquet at the castle in honour of d'Avila, and in spite of a thunderstorm a tournament afoot was held.

An incident or two connected with the policing of the town attracts attention at this time. Jan van Immerseele hanged three young vagabonds and burnt four others on the Gallows-field. They had pillaged the peasants on the highways for a long time, and the chronicler remarks that it was the first execution of such persons done by the Margrave since the image-breaking, and the reader must have been wondering what had happened to him. More interesting is what befell the Margrave's colleague, or rather rival in office, the hated Spelleken, who was hanged at Brussels, no one regretting his death. He was said to have hanged between three and four thousand people in his time. The charge against him was that he blackmailed guilty persons and even innocent ones as well. Thus he had preyed on the innocent and allowed the guilty to go free. Antwerp had been the scene of some of his crimes.

A letter written by Alva in January, 1570, shows us to what a condition the shipping of Antwerp had been reduced by the quarrel with Elizabeth. He had given permission to the Antwerp merchants to equip a fleet of thirty or forty vessels and send it to sea, but they could not collect that number, and so he forbade any ships putting out, excepting those of Frenchmen or Easter-

lings who were not concerned with the quarrel with the English, for everything but a large fleet fell to the pirates. Elizabeth proved in no hurry to come to terms, for there were far more Netherland ships in her harbours than there were of hers in those of Philip. Philip had entered into a league with the Pope and Venice and was again making preparations against the Turks and Moriscoes. In February, 1570, some Sea-Beggars who had sailed from an English port captured a ship in which were five thousand dalders, some of which belonged to Alva, derived from confiscated property in Holland, and some to Antwerp merchants. The pirates carried it to England, which was their "robbers' nest."

Two Anabaptists were burnt alive on the 15th of March, 1570, and in the same week a number of prisoners were taken from the Steen and sent in a ship to Spain to serve in galleys against the Turks. The Count of Boussu defeated a fleet of the Sea-Beggars in the spring and the voyage to Spain became safer.

In March, 1570, Alva stated the value of the money and merchandise belonging to the inhabitants of the Netherlands then detained in English ports to be over eight hundred thousand ducats, and that held by him to be scarcely worth two hundred thousand.

Alva was very anxious to prevent children and young men imbibing heretical views at foreign centres of education, and published an order at Antwerp in March, 1570, to the effect that no one should send his children to study outside the King's dominions, and that those who were now abroad for that purpose should return. Sonnius was installed on May Day, 1570, with great ceremony in Our Lady's Church, now to be the cathedral. The Count of Meghem, at the head of a body of cavalry, met him outside the town and escorted him to the Carmelites' church on the Meer, where he robed, and from which Alva walked with him to the great church. The town residence of St. Bernard's Abbey on the Shoe Market had been turned into a palace for him. A few days afterwards the new bishop caused the Almoners to bring to him thirty poor persons, to whom he gave a meal and he sent some money for the poor. On Ascension Day he preached his first sermon and began to take his part in processions and services. He was considered to have made a perfect beginning. Perhaps he turned out to see the burning of a poor lad and a girl on the Market Place on the 28th of June for being Anabaptists. All through the summer there was great activity among the clergy, who meant to treat the Bishop's installation as if it marked the triumph of the old faith. Alva wrote with greater confidence to Philip, saying that although it would be madness to predict that there would be no further trouble, yet the country had returned to the service of God and

that the King was now obeyed as his predecessors had never been. He felt there was no one in the country who had both the will and ability to cause any serious trouble, and that Orange was now too burdened with debt to move hand or foot. All this Alva said in a letter written at Antwerp, and he added that the castle was finished saving some embellishments. He hoped soon to return to Spain, and perhaps this hope made him exaggerate the completeness of his task. He said that should the country be invaded he had money enough to carry on war for two years without help from Spain, and that there was nothing to fear from Germany or France, and that England could do nothing so long as Germany was quiet.¹ In June he was collecting a fleet in Holland and Zealand to take Anne of Austria to Spain to be Philip's queen. All ships were "stayed," and it was very difficult for a private individual, even when willing to run the gauntlet of the pirates, either to travel by sea or to send merchandise.

On the 16th of July, 1570, the long-delayed Pardon was read. It had arrived in January but Alva had delayed publishing it. He had ordered prayers to be said in the great church, and he and his officers were present. Sonnius preached in Flemish and Mass was sung. In the afternoon the Papal Legate, several Bishops, Berlaymont, Noircarnes, Alva's son, and a number of noblemen and officers went to the Market Place, which was full of people. Alva was richly dressed and wore the sword and hat recently sent to him by the Pope, and mounting a tribune he took his place on a throne covered with cloth-of-gold. He ordered an official to read the Pardon, and it was found to promise amnesty to those who within two months made apologies before commissioners, but hundreds who had fled were excluded, as well as the ministers and preachers and those who had invited them to the Provinces or harboured them. Also were excluded all image-breakers, promoters of the Compromise, chiefs of the Confederacy of the Nobles, those who had collected signatures to the Request presented to Margaret of Parma, and those who had joined the rebels in arms or shown them favour.² The man who read the Pardon was hoarse and it was difficult for the people to hear. Strada thinks that Alva had ordered that it should be read so that the people could not hear how large a number were excluded from its benefits. Many of those who stood near went away sad; but in spite of the number of the exceptions there was much rejoicing, and thousands hurried to return to the fold of Holy Church. After the Pardon had been read Alva and his officers retired to banquet in the Town House, to which were invited the most notable men and the most beautiful ladies.

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. II, p. 131. This letter is dated 5th of May, 1570.

² Pirenne, Vol. IV, p. 16.

From the time of Alva's arrival in the Provinces to this Pardon about forty had suffered death in Antwerp by fire for exercising heretical practices, besides those hanged or beheaded for acts of violence. Some Antwerp citizens now thanked Alva for his share in obtaining the Pardon, and told him that his coming to the Provinces had been very agreeable to the inhabitants and to all good subjects of Philip, and they said he had honoured the town with his presence at the time of the reading of the Pardon.

Of course the Anabaptists were not included in the Pardon—in fact, a fresh edict was issued against them—but a few were released from the Steen on expressing repentance, together with some image-breakers and some schoolmistresses who had taught heresy to their pupils.

In August was hanged a sailor who had helped to destroy the great Crucifix at the image-breaking. More worthy of praise than the idea of granting this feeble Pardon was that evolved by Alva of founding a college at Louvain for Spaniards and one at Salamanca for Netherlanders in the hope of establishing a better understanding of each other between the two peoples.¹

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. II, p. 145.

CHAPTER VI

ALVA'S FAILURE

IT was hoped that a new era would begin with the Pardon, and that the removal of apprehension from the minds of those guilty of small offences would help towards leading the whole people back to the peace they had enjoyed in happier days. Those who looked to the castle to suppress tumults were now at ease, for Spaniards had taken the place of Germans in it; and although there were many quarrels between them and the townspeople they, at least for a time, saved the town from serious commotion. This was to change later on, but at the moment they were in good discipline. In March, 1570, Lodron's Germans at Antwerp were paid off and departed, and he himself went to Valenciennes and joined some other companies of his men to whom arrears of pay were still due, and they, fearing they would not get them, seized him and kept him hostage for over two months. Just after the publication of the Pardon they released him to go for their pay, and he appeared again at Antwerp. After consulting Alva he returned to Valenciennes and offered to pay them partly in cash and partly in cloth, but this they refused, and he thereupon induced them to be led to Antwerp to be received back into favour and to be paid. They were billeted at Borgerhout on the 27th of July, 1570. During the next day and night Alva moved up Spanish troops from Brussels, Louvain, Malines, and Lierre. On the morning of Saturday, the 29th of July, the Germans were mustered in the field known as the Laer—in which the Calvinists used to hold their meetings—for an inspection, but suddenly they found themselves surrounded by the Spaniards. With Lodron rode out Ciappin Vitelli, Gabriel Serbelloni, Don Fadrique, Alva's eldest son, and other officers. Lodron wanted to cut his Germans to pieces as a punishment for their treatment of him, but Don Fadrique dissuaded him and advised him to be content with the chastisement of some hundred and twenty ringleaders. These were arrested, and they took the occasion to accuse Lodron of having embezzled their pay. They were, however, locked up in the Steen. Many of them had their wives with them, who in vain besought Alva to spare their husbands and stood before the Steen with their children in their arms saying good-bye through the grating, so that the kind-hearted Antwerp people wept to see them. Two gallows were erected at the castle and the be-

heading and hanging of the mutineers began with a batch of eight. The Easterlings successfully pleaded for the lives of a few, but day after day more executions were carried out until Lodron was regarded by the citizens as a monster of cruelty.

It was said to be an old custom in the town that if a woman offered to marry a man condemned to death his life would be spared. More than once it had been put to the proof, but seems not to have been recognized by the authorities unless the demeanour of the crowd showed it was the only course open to them. Some Antwerp women came forward in the hope of saving a few of the wretched Germans, but without avail. Two soldiers of full seventy years old were among those hanged—their right hands being hacked off first—each with a painted crown on his head, for they had wished to make themselves chiefs at Valenciennes. Some were quartered after being hanged. Their comrades left at Bogerhout were paid off and went home across the Rhine. The arrival of the Emperor's daughter was the cause of some being released and others being sent out of the way to Vilvoorde Castle or the galleys. Altogether about seventy were put to death for this mutiny, by the side of which the number of inhabitants executed in the town for sedition arising out of heresy seems small.

The Emperor's daughter, Anne of Austria, was on her way to Spain to be married to Philip. It was known that the Gueux had made plans to capture her, and so Alva with a strong force met her at Nimeguen. Leaving his troops with her he rode back to Antwerp and orders were given that all should welcome her. In point of fact it was her alliance with Philip which now made it unlikely that her father, Maxmilian, would send any help to the Netherland Protestants against the King. Anne arrived towards evening on Saturday the 26th of August, 1570, with her two young brothers and a crowd of lords and ladies as well as the considerable body of troops Alva had provided. She travelled under the care of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and was met outside the town by Alva and his two sons, the Duke of Arschot, Baron Berlaymont, and Count Meghem. At the Red Gate the clergy and the magistrates met her. It was a rare thing for honoured visitors to approach the town from this direction and so enter by the Red Gate, and her way was the unusual one along the Horse Market, past St. Giles's Chapel, the Klapdorp and the Cowgate towards Our Lady's Church. The streets were kept by the Military Guilds bearing torches. The princess was, of course, beautifully dressed, her hackney richly caparisoned, and above her head was carried a baldachin. The houses were decorated and the lady chosen to act as the Maid of Antwerp greeted her from a stage. The Guilds and Chambers of Rhetoric vied with the merchants and citizens to do her honour. The Bishop welcomed her at the cathedral and she

went on to the lodging provided for her at the house of Jeronimo del Rio on the Meer. The towers of the cathedral, of St. James's and of the other churches, the cloisters, the houses of the Guilds and of the merchants were ablaze for four evenings with lanterns, torches, and tar-barrels. The factor of the King of Portugal opened barrels of wine for the people each vesper-time and condescended to drink with them himself. On the day after her arrival, being Sunday, the princess went in state to the cathedral and Sonnius celebrated Mass. Of course Alva showed the lady his wonderful new castle and the Easterlings their great new house. On the whole Anne seems to have been a more enthusiastic sightseer than most of the Royal people who came this way. Going along the Wharf to see the shipping she passed close to the Steen and some prisoners called to her from behind the grille for pity and she gave them money and promised to intercede for them. Antwerp presented her with two hundred thousand gulden and other towns gave her presents and so did the *nations* of merchants. Utrecht gave her a great red ox, which was brought to Antwerp and placed on view for half a stiver at Brederode's old haunt, the "Red Lion," in Brewers Street; but Anne did not take this present with her. She left at the end of August for Bergen-op-Zoom, for she was to have sailed on the 1st of September, but the wind kept her waiting. On Sunday the 10th of September Antwerp went in general procession for her safe journey, and on the 25th she sailed, escorted by a strong fleet under Count Boussu.

The English Government feared that this fleet, collected by Alva with such difficulty, had for object the convoying of an army of Spaniards to England to strike a blow for the Catholic cause there and set Mary Stuart upon the English throne, so that when it sailed the English fleet was never far from it. Elizabeth had sent Sir Henry Cobham to Antwerp in August to find out about it.

A long journey was, in those days, a dangerous undertaking, even for one chosen to be a queen. There had been the danger that the Beggars might capture her on land, there was plague in Antwerp, and there had been fear that the Sea-Beggars might prevent her voyage; but ultimately Orange advised them to let her sail unmolested for fear of offending the Emperor. It is pleasant to speak of pageantry again in the town in these bloody days of Alva, but the people were not to forget the nature of the times, and on the 13th of September two Anabaptists were burnt alive, and on the 4th of October a man who had been sexton to the Calvinist church on Mollekens Ram. Alva returned to Antwerp after bidding farewell to the princess.

Sonnus worked hard to restore the Roman Catholic religion, rehallowing churches and having proclamations made; for instance, that none should drink in taverns or go card-playing

or dancing on Sundays or holy days until High Mass had been celebrated.

The Peace of St. Germain in August, 1570, put an end to the third Civil War in France and it seemed possible that Charles IX might make war on Philip, and if he did it was to be expected that Elizabeth would join him, and for their part the Beggars on sea and land began to prepare for another armed rising.

The Principality of Orange was restored to William by the Treaty of St. Germain, and becoming an independent sovereign he claimed to be entitled to issue letters of marque to the Sea-Beggars and pirates, to whom the establishment of the Huguenots at La Rochelle would afford a splendid pirates' nest in the event of hospitality being denied them by Elizabeth.

A terrible flood, called that of "All-Hallows," on the 1st of November burst the dikes and sluices and ran along the coast of the North Sea from Calais to Norway, and it was said three thousand persons were drowned in the Provinces, besides a great number of beasts. At Antwerp the dikes burst at about nine o'clock in the evening, and the *polders* were flooded for four leagues round the town; the cellars were filled and vast quantities of merchandise were destroyed, especially of oil, woad, madder, and spices. Great damage was done to the quays and walls, as well as houses. A ship of one hundred and fifty tons was thrown on to the English Quay. Much damage was done to the ships of the Sea-Beggars, and the Catholics said the disaster must have been a punishment brought on the country by the heretics.

Alva was in Antwerp most of the autumn and made some praiseworthy efforts to regulate marine insurance, for frauds were very easily contrived. At one time he had forbidden it altogether, to compel the owners of ships to arm them and fight against the pirates, but afterwards he found it necessary to permit it. A Genoese was hanged for that he had heavily insured a ship and her cargo and then had her scuttled. Unfortunately for him the cargo was found to consist of stone and turf. He would have ruined a number of other Genoese merchants by this, for insurance was by means of pooling losses. The violent winds and heavy rains of November turned into a bitter winter.

During the quarrel with Elizabeth and the cessation of commercial intercourse between the two countries the trade of the English with Hamburg and Emden had increased rapidly. The cloth fleet which sailed to the former port in 1569 carried cloth to the value of five hundred thousand crowns. At the same time the Netherlanders who had fled from their homes had introduced into England the manufacture of coarser clothes—worsted, sayes, bayes, canvas, moccados, plush, grograms—just as the

earlier Flemish fugitives had taken over the weaving of finer cloths.

Elizabeth winked at the Sea-Beggars making use of English ports, and watched the resistance to Alva which had collapsed so quickly on land now assuming a truly menacing aspect at sea. Alva did not appreciate what these resolute men could do until it was too late, and in the meantime they recruited and fitted out their ships in English ports. Their first Admiral was Adrian de Berghes, Seigneur de Dolhain, and the crews were composed of Walloons, Flemings, Dutchmen, Zealanders, Antwerpens, Frenchmen, Germans, or Englishmen, often boys. They plundered the ships of Philip's subjects at sea and often other ships as well, and brought the welcome spoils into English ports. Alva should have watched these Sea-Beggars more closely instead of wasting so much time in hanging and burning helpless people.

They had their counterpart on land in the Wild- or Wood-Beggars, who terrified all who lived or travelled in lonely parts of the country, making their homes in woods or among sand-dunes and falling on priests and other Catholics and not only robbing them, but cutting off their noses and ears. A crime attributed to them was committed on Easter Day, 1571. At about eleven o'clock in the evening a band of rascals who were well armed went to the house of the old *curé* of Berchem, a suburb of Antwerp. They knocked at the door and were admitted by the maid. They ran to the *curé's* room and found him in bed. He offered to let them have everything in the house if they would spare his life, but they killed him, stabbing him again and again. They then went to his chaplain's room and pulled him out of bed and killed him also and carried off all they could in sacks. This crime terrified the country clergy—for it was generally thought to be the work of the Wild-Beggars who scoured Flanders and Brabant—and Alva had to issue a placard taking them under his protection. At Ghent a procession was held praying that this peril as well as the plague might be removed. The crime was investigated by Red Rod and the Margrave and other officers and two of the malefactors were caught. The Steen was so full of heretics at the time that other buildings had to be used as prisons, and these two men were put in the Bakers' Tower on the Quay at the Sand, which if they were not *poorters* was quite in order. They were tortured and confessed their guilt, and were condemned to death, and on the 30th of June they were led out of the tower quite naked and brought to the scaffold on the Market Place, where their flesh was torn off with hot pincers by the executioner, Hector Bolet, nicknamed "Cosynken." They were then taken in a cart by a circuitous route to Berchem, but at each of the six or seven bridges they passed in going through the town the cart was stopped

and the pincers applied again. Before the *curé's* house at Berchem the hand of the younger of the two was cut off, and so would that of the elder have been but he seemed to be sinking, and it was feared that he might die before they had quite finished with him. They were then taken to the Gallows-field near Berchem, now the Pépinière, and burnt alive. It was hoped thus to scare such ruffians. As a matter of fact, there were enough vagabonds predisposed to crime in Brabant to commit a score of such crimes, but nothing would persuade the Catholics that the Beggars were innocent. An evil thing could hardly be done without the Catholics laying it at their door. Assaults on ecclesiastics in the town were common, and even the presence of the Spanish soldiers was not enough to save them. The Cell-Brothers were persecuted, and that too even when they were performing their self-imposed task of burying the dead; and since plague was raging at the time the magistrates had to protect them by proclamation. The plague first appeared in Turnhout and Bois-le-Duc, and no one was allowed to come in from those towns, but it eluded all vigilance and fell on the inhabitants in July, 1571. It was considered to be spread by the destitute persons who hung about church doors and loafed in the streets, and quack doctors did a lot of harm. It was the popular belief that infection was carried by miscreants who at night smeared the handles and knockers of doors with fat which had been in the rooms of the sick. These miscreants, so gossips said, were the nurses who attended the sick of the plague, and the authorities had to order that people lurking suspiciously about house doors should be killed at sight. The Cell-Brothers usually nursed the sick, and they seem to have been among those so curiously suspected of wilfully spreading the plague. It was a time of panic and rumour and people would believe any nonsense. The schools were closed and the frippery men were ordered not to sell bedding or clothing from infected houses. After a time a procession was held and intercession made, and the Brotherhood of St. Roch, the patron saint of those sick of the plague, was established in the cathedral by Sonnius. A pest-house and a graveyard were assigned in the New Town to those smitten, and wedding-feasts, banquets, and all gatherings of more than twelve persons were forbidden—an order which entailed a heavy loss on the town in the matter of excise on wine and beer. The ill wind of fortune at all events blew Alva away on the 24th of July after a long sojourn in the town.

The quarrel with England accounts for the presence in the town of many of Elizabeth's enemies. The Earl of Westmorland, the Countess of Northumberland, Lord Seton, and a number of other gentlemen had been there in September, 1570, and had received a benevolence from the Pope. In the summer of 1571, Alva was plotting against Elizabeth through Ridolfi, who went

through the Provinces chattering about the great conspiracy so that the merchants at Antwerp talked openly of it. Not many Englishmen who were not Catholics were now to be found in Antwerp, and the Spanish officers affected to despise the few they met. During his Governorship, Lodron entertained Lord Windsor and other Englishmen, including Sir Henry Lee and Master John Smith, at dinner. A Spanish captain named Maria, who had been in the Duke of Somerset's service, made game of England. Smith reminded him that Froissart said that at Poitiers ten thousand English did "break and march upon the bellies of fifty thousand French," and spoke of the deeds of Englishmen in Spain in the cause of Pedro the Cruel and in Italy under Hawkwood and in Cyprus under Richard; but Maria only shook his head and made disdainful faces. Maria said later that England was only a small country and that Philip had a hundred such, but Smith explained to him that Elizabeth could send fifty thousand men abroad and still keep one hundred thousand at home and that no nation was so strong at sea. The magistrates had to quiet these two debaters.

In this year (1571) Alva flouted the privileges of the town. Soon after Shrovetide he went to Brussels and took with him a batch of *poorters* imprisoned for heresy. On the 12th of June he came over again, bringing with him Frederic Perrenot, Seigneur de Champagny, the youngest brother of Cardinal Granvelle, whom he intended to make Governor of the town. This gentleman was born in 1536, had served as a soldier in Italy, and had lived in the Provinces for some time. Although a Catholic and a Burgundian and loyal to Philip, he had joined the Confederates, but had retired for a time to Burgundy when Alva came. He was not a naturalized Brabanter before February, 1577, and so was really ineligible for any office in Brabant, but otherwise Alva could hardly have made a better choice of governor—if Antwerp had to have a governor at all. In the spring Alva had made inquiries into the administration of the town's finances, and had found that no account had been rendered for over ten years and that the treasurer was a debtor on the balance. When called to explain this officer bolted.¹ This led to the conclusion that changes were necessary. Alva therefore set up a Chamber of Accounts which he hoped would gradually free the town from its burden of debt. He also instituted a Chamber of Justice consisting of the Governor, two members of the Council of Brabant, Launcelot van Ursel, then Chief Burgomaster,² a *skepyn*, and the greffier, and made it supersede the Vierschare, thus depriving the *poorters* of their right to be tried by their own magistrates. This court sat at the Town House and had cogniz-

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. II, p. 172.

² When Launcelot van Ursel died in 1573, Granvelle wrote of him as "le bon Launcelot, vray ursule," an honourable old man with great experience in the affairs of the town.

ance of all criminal matters and of all the more important civil actions. It must be remembered that there had been no Governor of the town before Orange was sent there in 1566 somewhat in this capacity to preserve order. He had been succeeded by Count Mansfeld, who was a real Governor, and he by Lodron.

The first fruits of the new court was the burning and beheading of seven Calvinists and Anabaptists in August and September and the citing of a large number of *émigrés*, who, in default of appearance, were condemned to confiscation of goods. Another Anabaptist was burnt in October and another in November.

Champagney decreed some excellent measures against the plague, and at once took steps to end another nuisance to the citizens, namely, the ill-behaviour of the Spanish soldiers. As an example of it may be cited the case wherein figured an old woman who used to sit by a stall in the Glove Market before the west door of the cathedral. Two Spanish soldiers strolling by caught up something from her stall, and she tried to prevent their carrying it off. In the scuffle that followed the old woman was knocked down senseless by a blow, and a commotion arose among the people who saw what had happened. The military police arrived and the soldiers ran into the cathedral, where Mass was being sung in a chapel. The police closed the doors as soon as Mass was over to prevent the soldiers getting away. Eight or nine other Spaniards who happened to be in the church drew their swords to help their comrades, and bystanders seized candlesticks or whatever came first to hand and took whichever side appealed to them. One Spaniard was killed, another injured, and the rest were made prisoners. This occurred before the new Governor's arrival, but it is a good example of the conduct which he set himself to discourage. Champagney was a strict Governor and offences against the coinage were very common, and so the people saw men boiled in water on the Meer for making false money.

On the 18th of November, there was a sermon in every church in the town in honour of the victory over the Turks at Lepanto, which gave Philip no small store of galleys, galley-slaves, and cannon. There were rejoicings and a Fraternity of Our Lady of Victories was established in the church of the Dominicans, now St. Paul's. This victory made the French Court less inclined to make war on Spain, but Louis of Nassau was allowed to go to La Rochelle for the purpose of organizing the Sea-Beggars. The conduct of these resolute was not improving, and throughout the year 1571 and the following spring they spread fear along the Netherland coast, robbing churches and killing priests. Boussu prepared a fleet against them and Alva put garrisons in the sea-board towns and began a castle at Flushing lest they should attempt to seize this gate to Antwerp. Alva thus showed his

appreciation of the importance of Flushing and followed what had years before been the advice of Margaret of Parma, for in 1564 she had warned the King that in the next war their enemies would try to seize the island of Walcheren, and had pointed out that it would not be difficult for them to do so, and that if it was lost all navigation between the Provinces and Spain would be at an end.¹

The Beggars were now trying to make the conflict against Spain into one at sea, and if they could capture any important places on Walcheren it would be a bad day for Alva, and he knew it; for they would have the English pirates and perhaps England herself behind them and all the sea-power which the Huguenots were preparing at La Rochelle.

De Dolhain had been succeeded as Admiral by de Lumbres and he by William de la Marck. In the autumn of 1571 the number of the Sea-Beggars was increasing every week, and their captains attacked all comers, even Easterlings as well as Philip's subjects and Protestants as well as Catholics. They haunted Dover, although, as Elizabeth wrote to the lieutenant of Dover Castle, that port was "the eye of the realm." Unfortunately for Alva it was just at this time that there was fear of war with France and he had to send the Zealand garrisons to the French frontier.

The victory of Lepanto had filled Elizabeth with awe of Philip's sea-power, as it had Charles IX, and both decided to postpone outwardly helping Orange or the Beggars until the spring at the earliest. By Christmas, 1571, there was talk at Antwerp of Don John, the hero of Lepanto, undertaking the conquest of the "English Turks." Alva's successor, Medina Celi, had been appointed, and it was said he would come by sea and that his fleet would be joined at the mouth of the Scheldt by what ships Alva could arm and muster, and that Spain would then conquer England and put Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne. This was what had been planned in the Ridolfi conspiracy. On the 9th of November, 1571, the English agent in Antwerp had informed Burghley that report in that town said that Seton and Dacres had sailed from there for Scotland in two ships laden with powder, shot, armour, and ten great cannon taken out of the castle, and, some said, five thousand Walloons.

Alva recognized the Beggars' ships, which lay at Dover and in the Downs that autumn, as Orange's fleet, and did not regard them as a number of independent pirate ships; but loss of trade and other evils had again left him with an empty treasury. The two years for which the States-General had agreed to pay lump sums instead of the ten and five per cent taxes expired on the 29th of August, 1571, and what Alva had received during these two years had hardly paid for carrying on the Government and

¹ Gachard, "M. d'A.," Vol. III, p. 436.

keeping up the army, and he determined that it would be more profitable to collect the ten and five per cent taxes as at first intended, but on a slightly modified plan, rather than allow the States to compound for a further period, and so, by a placard of the 31st of July, 1571, he had brought the modified scheme into force in September.

On the 5th of September the Seigneur de Noircarmes wrote to Philip that the expectation that these taxes would be collected was spreading such agitation among the people that he feared some disaster if it was insisted on, and the Bishop of Ypres informed the King that it might drive the working classes to revolution with the approach of winter. When first propounding his scheme in 1569, Alva had admitted that the ten per cent tax would cause great injury to commerce, but he said that even so it must be collected. Now he said that what was the matter with the people was that they could no longer dictate to their Sovereign, and that their demeanour had nothing to do with the injury which was being done to industry and the sale of fish and so on, as they alleged it was. He was learning that they would not endure patiently to have money ground out of them, and he hated them for grudging it to help the French Catholics and the Queen of Scots or for the arming of the fleet to carry Anne of Austria to Spain.

Special police provisions had to be made to stop the fighting which occurred in the streets by day and night. The shopkeepers who had not already forsaken the town threatened to close their shops if these new taxes were collected without consent of the States of Brabant, and the town daily became fuller of unemployed. The ten per cent tax was not fully in force until the beginning of December, and the collectors were received in the town without injury. It must be borne in mind that the one per cent tax, which was to be paid once and for all on all movable and immovable property, had been conceded when first demanded, and that the ten per cent and five per cent were taxes not unknown in the Provinces, but were resorted to only in emergency; also that the ten per cent had to be paid on every sale of movables and the five per cent on every sale of immovables, however often a sale took place. A system which worked well in agricultural Spain was to be applied to Antwerp.

Just before leaving Paris in January, 1572, the Spanish Ambassador made a report to Madrid which shows us that the merchants were daily leaving the Provinces for France, and that at Paris there were more than four hundred of them, all complaining of the tenth penny tax and of the insolence of the Spaniards. Alva seems to have been misinformed as to the number leaving the country.

The removal of Alva and the withdrawal of the most hated of the new taxes, namely, that of the tenth penny, seemed the

only way towards peace. In March, 1572, the Bishops of Ypres, Gand, and Bruges wrote to inform Philip that they felt it their duty to tell him that this tax fell on the poor more heavily than the rich, that the land was becoming depopulated, and that commerce was departing. The ruined merchants and tradesmen who had gone to France said that if help were given them they would invade the country and drive Alva out. Others went to join the Sea-Beggars. Liège, Emden, Cologne, and Hamburg were being re-peopled by the refugees. In January, 1572, tradesmen at Antwerp shut their shops rather than pay the tax. If a shopkeeper sold anything on credit he had to pay the ten per cent tax at once and might never be paid for the goods. Many, even in Antwerp, preferred to drink water rather than pay the tax on beer, and people crowded round the public fountains as if they ran with wine. Such scenes made a great impression on those who knew the town well. Many engaged in the herring salting industry retired to England, and took it with them. A visitor to Antwerp in March said the town was disappearing "like melting snow." In Plantin's sale-room were three boxes of breviaries packed ready to be sent to Portugal which had been returned by the dealers because of the tax. Houses which had been let for three hundred gulden now went for sixty or even fifty, while at Cologne, Liège, and Cambray the influx of refugees had sent rents up by two-thirds of their value. The *tonlieu* of Antwerp, which usually brought in four hundred thousand gulden, now brought fourteen thousand. The mariners tried to kill one of the collectors, but he got away. Alva imposed the tax even where such a course violated treaties with foreign powers.¹ Some householders of decent standing fed their families and themselves on bread and potatoes from Christmas to Easter and many people died of hunger—even some who had shops full of merchandise, for they could not sell it. Vagrants had multiplied ominously, most of them proving to be mariners or men in the fish trade. Robbers went about the country in bands of twenty and thirty and little was done to stop them. Merchants did not bring merchandise to the town. The abbots of Brabant complained that no wine came from Germany or Lorraine, and innkeepers gave up business, for no travellers applied to them. No one appeared on Bourse, and there was no money to be had. To end the quarrel with England seemed a necessity, and the two Governments were more in agreement in the spring of 1572 than they had been for a long time, but with a result not entirely anticipated. Elizabeth at length granted Alva's demand, and on the 1st of March, 1572, ordered all "freebooters" to leave her harbours. They sailed out of Dover, and on the 25th of March Alva's emissary, de

¹ Many interesting details of the results of this tax are to be found in "Corr. du Cardinal de Granvelle," Vol. IV.

Sweveghem, wrote to him from London telling him that William de la Marck was cruising before Dover and in the Downs, and that it was supposed that he would try to seize Briel, often called "The Brill," on the island of Voorne. On All Fools' Day, de la Marck appeared before Briel, and, its Spanish garrison having been moved to the French frontier, he captured it without a blow. The people of Flushing rose in favour of the Beggars, and the Antwerp chronicler says that they did so because the commissioners had just arrived to collect the tenth penny and that the said commissioners' ill-behaviour was a contributory cause. The Flushingers applied to Briel for troops, and a strong party was sent over on the 6th of April. With Flushing in their possession the Beggars could close the Scheldt at their will, and the trade and the future of Antwerp were in their power.

The tradesmen at Brussels had made more trouble about paying the tenth penny than those at Antwerp had done, and a number of butchers, bakers, and tavern-keepers were waiting to be hanged for refusing to open their shops, when word came of the taking of Briel by the Beggars. The news reached Antwerp within a few hours of the event, and the Catholics spoke of Briel as now being in the hands of the "foxes' tails," whose comrades they had seen cut to pieces at Austruweel. Alva immediately hurried troops towards Zealand from Tournay, Valenciennes, and other garrisons on the French frontier; and by the middle of the month bodies of unemployed were passing through Borgerhout on their way to join the Beggars. Alva tried to collect ships in the Scheldt, but with the decay of Antwerp commerce they had nearly all disappeared. There were more at Amsterdam than at Antwerp. When he got ships he had not enough artillery for them and no money with which to pay sailors. It was difficult to get sailors to serve, for they deserted to the Beggars in hundreds, tempted by the hopes of plunder, if not by patriotism.

On the 11th of April, de Sweveghem wrote from London that Elizabeth had expressed to him her extreme displeasure at the taking of Briel by the Beggars, but the Governor-General must have doubted the truth of what she said. William de la Marck had made no delay in letting her know of his success, and being acquainted with her distaste for helping subjects against their Sovereign he was keeping to the fiction imagined by Orange that the struggle was not against the King, but on his behalf against the tyranny of Alva.

Ten ships with some three thousand men had seized Briel, which has been justly described as the cradle of the Dutch Republic. As Strada put it, "At last the water brought forth this new commonwealth; ambition being the mother, heresy the midwife, and terror, like thunder, making her fall in labour

before her time."¹ The town of Flushing lies at the mouth of the Scheldt, which is about three miles wide, and whoever held it, together with the rest of the island of Walcheren and the islands of South Beveland, Schouwen and Tholen, could keep ships afloat to close the river and cut Antwerp off from the sea ; but guns at Flushing could not then close the river. The Beggars, therefore, straightway set about capturing these islands, and one success followed another. Hitherto a single tide had brought up fleets of ships—Biscayens, galleons, hulks, hoys, crayers, pleytes—from the Levant, Barbary, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, England, Scotland, the Baltic, and Holland with every kind of cargo, but now not even a fishing boat was allowed to go up without a passport, so that there was soon great scarcity in the town. Such ships as came from the south or the Baltic now put into English or more often Zealand harbours, but if they were Spanish owned, or, later on, if they were owned by any subject of Philip, they were captured by the Beggars or at least held to ransom.

In less than four months the Beggars had one hundred and fifty ships of war in the harbour of Flushing well armed, well equipped, and manned by experienced seamen. A greater difficulty was to get experienced soldiers for the garrison at Flushing and the other important towns as they fell to the Beggars, but they were supplied by England and France, and soon Flushing was regarded as impregnable. Elizabeth thought that even now the Beggars could not make head against Philip with strength enough to keep him occupied, and she feared Charles IX might therefore send help to them and she did not want to see Zealand in French hands. So it was that against her cherished principles she winked from the first at English soldiers going across the channel. Orange had for years hoped that Walcheren would be in the hands of the Beggars, but he had not seen his way to bringing it about, and although he was at first doubtful whether the lucky capture of Briel would lead to much good, he rejoiced at the advance their cause had made when Flushing and then other towns and islands—Enkhuizen, Dordrecht, Gorkum, Tholen, Alkmaar, Harlem, Rotterdam, Zierikzee—fell to them and he saw that a new era had set in.

Early in May, Alva prepared to make a determined effort to recapture Flushing and ordered ships to be collected at Bergen-op-Zoom to take Spanish and Walloon soldiers, but there were not enough ships. His real hope of crushing the rebellion was founded on twenty ships which Boussu had at Amsterdam and Enkhuizen in Holland, but a rising in the latter place and a mutiny in the fleet put an end to it. This fleet had been prepared at great cost, having more than eight hundred pieces of artillery on board and an immense amount of powder and

¹ Stapylton's translation, Bk. VII, p. 73, ed. 1650.

munitions. He then decided to content himself with holding Middelburg on Walcheren, and by the 6th of May that important town, where Beauvoir commanded, Ter Goes, Armuyden, and Rammekens Castle were all that remained to the King in Zealand, and as his impotence became more apparent so the Beggars became more confident. Some of them going out of Briel captured ships under the noses of the Spaniards at Bergen-op-Zoom, and sailing in them up to Austruweel pretended they were sent by Alva and so carried back with them fourteen kegs of gunpowder—in fact, all there was. The canals in the New Town were full of small ships which did not dare to go down the river.

Don Fadrique, Alva's son, came to Antwerp in May and demanded a number of ships and boats to be made ready within twenty-four hours, that is to say, for the next evening tide, under penalty of twenty-five thousand gulden. He reproved Champagney because the preparations were not made more quickly, and talked about hanging sailors and burning the ships of those owners who were unwilling to help him. The Don and the Governor passed from this to bitter words on other matters, and the former pointed out that the latter had been just as slow about collecting the new taxes. Champagney evidently had right on his side when he rejoined that it was the Margrave's duty and not his to collect ships for Philip, and that as for the matter of the taxes Alva himself had done no better in Brussels. Fadrique said plenty of hanging would have produced the money.

The Beggars at Flushing wrote to the people of Antwerp urging them to rebel, and even threatening them if they would not do so.

More men flocked to Zealand every day, and on the 18th of May it was proclaimed at Antwerp that none must trade with Flushing, Veere, Briel, or Enkhuizen on pain of forfeiting life and goods. It was as much as Alva's ships could do to get troops and provisions into Middelburg, Ter Goes, Armuyden, and Rammekens Castle without being captured, and soon the Beggars were laying siege to Middelburg and Ter Goes. By June there were thousands of men in Antwerp who had nothing in the world and did not earn a patart in a fortnight, so that many ran away to be Beggars. Provost Morillon told Granvelle that, disguise it as one would, it was certain that navigation had gone and that the enemy was master of the sea. All this was due to the ten per cent tax, for it had led to discontent and cessation of trade, and poverty had encouraged the heretics to seize towns. Morillon reported that people were saying that Orange need not trouble to seize any more towns, for he already held as many as valued his property which Philip had confiscated; and yet Alva, when he heard of the taking of Briel, had said, "It is nothing!"

Noircarmes came to Antwerp and marking the rapid progress

made by the enemy said it was time to think how Artois, Hainaut, Luxemburg, and Brabant could be saved, for, in his opinion, the rest was lost, and he would have abandoned Middelburg. The going over of Dortrecht in June was regarded as an indication that the disloyalty to Philip was due rather to the taxes than heresy, for in this town there had been no image-breaking in 1566, but Alva maintained that the increased zeal among the Beggars was not due to the ten per cent tax, and that if granted liberty of conscience the people, even in Holland, would pay it and even more.

Going from Antwerp to Bergen-op-Zoom, where ships had been collected, Don Fadrique and Noircarmes had attempted to carry out Alva's orders to relieve Middelburg before the news came of the rising at Enkhuizen. They sailed on the 6th of May, but only succeeded in throwing some men and supplies into the town.

Meanwhile Charles IX had paid some attention to the entreaties and arguments put forward by Louis of Nassau and the Admiral, the former assuring the King that Antwerp and Mons were ready to rise against Philip. Louis's plan would have divided the Provinces thus: Artois and Flanders were to go to France in return for help; Brabant, Guelders, and Luxemburg to the Empire, with Orange as Stadtholder over them; and Holland and Zealand to England. At the time negotiations were in progress for Elizabeth's marriage to Anjou. Others suggested a partition of the Provinces between Charles and Orange, the latter to take all north of a line drawn south of Antwerp and Charles all south of it. On the 23rd of May, 1572, La Noue, the famous French Huguenot leader, seized Valenciennes, and on the next day Louis of Nassau, with some help from Charles, seized Mons, and there seems to have been truth in his assurance to the French King that Antwerp would rise, for on the 26th of May, at dawn, fifteen companies of Spaniards and Walloons were moved from Bergen-op-Zoom into that town, and it was said that the reason was that the magistrates and Alva had discovered some treachery. Orders were given that none should go about the streets after nine o'clock in the evening without a light and other usual precautions were taken. The water-gates were closed and the markets were held outside the town to avoid any influx of strangers. The Spanish soldiers had not received their pay and so could not discharge their debts, and this caused quarrels between them and the townsmen on whom they were billeted. A special tribunal of magistrates and officers had to be set up to try disputes between them. Stones were thrown at the windows of the house in which Don Fadrique lodged, and he was called a tyrant's son.

When Medina Celi, who was to succeed Alva, reached the mouth of the Scheldt, he was surprised to find the Beggars in

possession of Flushing and with difficulty escaped to Sluis, and, as it was, he lost several ships containing horses and treasure. But the finest prey of all was a very rich fleet of thirty vessels from Lisbon—laden with spices, oil, salt, and so on—belonging to Portuguese merchants resident in Antwerp. On the 12th of June these ships entered the river on their way up to Antwerp, and as the weather became stormy they sailed into Flushing, not knowing it was in the possession of the rebels, and twenty-one ships were captured. The owners went to Flushing to seek redress in vain, but they recovered three ships which the Beggars sent as prizes to England. There was a report after this that Philip and the King of Portugal were arming fleets against the Beggars, and the merchants in Spain and Portugal decided to send no more ships to the Netherlands until some change took place. Onlookers said that enough had been done by the Beggars in the Scheldt to frighten merchants for another twenty years. What merchandise reached Antwerp after this from Portugal, Spain, or Barbary usually came in Breton ships to Havre and thence by small boats to Dunkirk and on to Antwerp by wagon or the waterways, thus greatly adding to the price at which it could be sold. The Sea-Beggars were not without secret adherents in Antwerp, notably Gilles Hoffman, the wealthy merchant, who had been a Calvinist for the last five years but had not left the town. He sent money, munitions, and food to the Flushingers and through him they sold plunder. A certain Captain Worst, who had been in his service and had commanded some of his best ships, became their Admiral. It was Worst who had captured Medina Celi's ships. The French King, being at the back of Louis's enterprise in seizing Mons, Queen Elizabeth became the more afraid that he might get a permanent footing in Zealand, and in June she sent troops under Colonel Morgan to Flushing and two hundred pieces of artillery. More English came in July under Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and soon men, victuals, and munitions were arriving almost daily, so that Alva complained to the Queen, who said that she knew nothing about the men who had gone over, although she had inspected some of them at Greenwich before they started. Some of her councillors advised her to seize Flushing or even all Walcheren, South Beveland, and Zierikzee. A memorandum drawn up in June, 1572—probably by Burghley—shows us that the English Government was fully alive to the advisability of discovering the strength of Walcheren and of searching the channels up towards Antwerp and other parts to know their breadth and depth and how they might be defended, but the chief anxiety was to keep the French from getting a footing in the maritime part of Holland and Zealand, and in order to do that Elizabeth would, if it could not have been done otherwise, have helped Alva to regain such places, provided there was to be no further oppression of the

Provinces, and provided that the old privileges and liberties were restored to them, the nobility reconciled, the Inquisition abolished, and the old amity between England and the House of Burgundy set up again.

In Medina Celi's ships had been a quantity of silver in bar, which was to pay for an expedition against England, and the greater part of it had been preserved from the Beggars and lodged in Antwerp Castle, for Philip agreed that while the Beggars held the mouth of the Scheldt such an undertaking was difficult. In July news from Genoa told the Antwerp Bourse that Don John, the hero of Lepanto, had notified the Seigniorship that he could not serve the League that year as Philip had need of his services now that the Netherlands were in revolt. This Prince would have liked nothing better than to lead an invasion of England, but the Ridolfi conspiracy had come to nothing, and Flushing had been lost, and if he came north it would be only to the uncongenial task of restoring the Provinces to obedience.

In the summer, Orange, for the second time, led an army across the Rhine to invade the Provinces, his advance having been delayed by want of money. What he received came from the towns in Holland and the Calvinist conventicles in England. This expedition was much more successful than the other. He had judged correctly that it would be so, relying on the distress and anger caused by Alva's taxation. During his former campaign he was not well received, but now several towns opened their gates to him. The greater part of the executions for heresy had taken place before the first expedition, and the people may therefore be taken to have been brought into a state of rebellion rather by the taxation than by the religious persecution. From the outset of the campaign Orange knew he had Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht on his side. He captured Ruremonde, Herenthals, Tirlemont, Diest, and Malines; Louvain supplied him with provisions; Termonde welcomed him, and ultimately he got possession of Oudenarde. As he made his way towards Mons, in which his brother was besieged, it seemed as if the whole country would rise for him, but all was changed by an event in Paris, namely, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, on the 24th of August. By it was removed all prospect of the French King helping the Beggars, and this war, so far as fighting on land went, collapsed as the former had done. Louis gave up Mons on the 21st of September and Orange retired with his army to Malines and thence to Ruremonde and out of the country.

In the meantime at Antwerp there had been hopes and fears as to the success of Orange's arms and as to what help might come from France. On the 5th of July, at night, three ships of the Beggars came up from Flushing and took two vessels from the quay under the nose of the watch-boat in the river. They

were fired at from the castle and the watch-house on the quay, but got away. The only ships which now sailed from Antwerp were those going up the river or by canal to Ghent or Brussels, and by the end of August it was not safe for these to lie at the quay at night, and they had to be brought into the channels in the New Town.

Out of sixteen hundred Walloons in Alva's service all but four hundred deserted for want of pay, and these four hundred were all he could spare to garrison Antwerp in July. The silver in the castle was coined, but gold was not to be found anywhere, and when Philip sent bills of exchange to Alva he could not negotiate them. With some help from Zealand there would have been no small chance of success for the Antwerpers had they risen at the right moment during Orange's invasion. As it was, most of the Beggars' soldiers who were at Flushing and Veere embarked on the day after the massacre of St. Bartholomew and came up the river as far as Doel, but there they heard from those in the town with whom they were in communication that there was some hitch and that they could not co-operate, as promised, for three or four days, and so the enterprise was abandoned. It was on the day before the St. Bartholomew that a procession was arranged in Antwerp for a jubilee and indulgence granted by the Pope, and prayers were offered for victory over the Turks and heretics and heresy, and perhaps the massacre was reckoned to be an earnest of things to come. News of it caused the Pope to order *Te Deum* to be sung, and the view of many Catholics was expressed by Strada, who wrote that it was "A fair punishment for a sect leagued against their King."

While Orange was at Malines, Beggars appeared high up the river and all over Flanders and Brabant. Victuals became very scarce in Antwerp when he got possession of Termonde, for he cut the way by which most had been brought to the town since the Beggars had held the mouth of the River. Termonde lay on the Scheldt between Antwerp and Ghent.

In September there was constant fear among the Spaniards in the castle that Orange would try to get into the town, and while he was at Termonde they fired on some German troops approaching, thinking they were the enemy. Orange reached Malines on the 18th of September and intended to fall on Brussels or Antwerp, to cause a diversion which might save Louis in Mons; but on the 23rd he left the town knowing that Mons had fallen. On the 2nd of October, Alva entered Malines and, as a punishment for opening its gates to Orange, the town was handed over to pillage for three days. Many fled from the ghastly scenes to Antwerp, and were welcomed by the citizens and given lodging, clothes, and food, while the Almoners sent a ship with bread, butter, and cheese to relieve those left behind. Much plunder

was brought in by the Spanish soldiers by road and by water, and sold dirt cheap on the Friday-Market. Antwerp was full of chalices and other valuable church property, and it was ordered that none should buy such stolen goods ; yet the shops of the Italians were full of spoil. Strada says that a Jesuit persuaded some merchants to buy much of it and let the owners buy it back at the price they paid instead of at that at which a dealer would have sold ; but the Protestants said that the Spaniards, to soothe their consciences for robbing churches, gave a large part of the proceeds to the Jesuits and the Grey Friars, which enabled the former to improve the House of Aachen, which they had just bought.

As soon as it became certain that Louis of Nassau would have to give up Mons, Alva moved troops to Antwerp to preserve it from Orange and to prepare for an attempt to relieve Ter Goes on South Beveland, to which the Beggars had laid siege during Orange's invasion, for he could not help Middelburg unless he held Ter Goes. Some sixty vessels, great and small, were got ready at Antwerp, some made into ships of war and filled with Spaniards, Walloons, and Germans, and others prepared to carry supplies. The sailors were found in Antwerp, and difficult enough it was to prevent their deserting. This fleet sailed on the 11th of October under van Hamstede, a Netherlander, and Mondragon commanded the troops. Six miles down the river they met a few well-equipped ships of the enemy and went into action supported by a battery the Spaniards had erected on the left dike. The fight lasted from midday until four o'clock, when a strong Beggar fleet appeared and drove the loyalists under the guns on the dike, and when the tide rose they sailed back to Antwerp under cover of the darkness. Altogether they had lost four ships, and had achieved nothing. Alva was very angry at this failure and ordered another attempt to be made, and the fleet sailed again on the 16th of October ; but the Beggars were now too strong at sea for Alva, and twelve of his ships were burnt. On the Scheldt he might expect to see enemy ships at any time two leagues below Antwerp. The Spaniards met with some successes on land in the autumn and winter and Narden was horribly sacked, but they met with none on the water, unless it was Mondragon's famous wading exploit by which he got into Ter Goes. On the 16th of November, ships of war went down the river, but the Beggars chased them up again and burnt Ordam, a village two leagues below the town.

The Beggars were not content with playing pirates on the sea, but landing they pushed far into Flanders and Brabant, burning churches, killing priests and monks, sacking villages, and holding people to ransom—even babies in arms—and their deeds became more daring as the nights grew longer and darker. In the country districts of the diocese of Antwerp the villages

were deserted, and the *curés* had fled to the towns to escape the murder they expected.

No ships being allowed to pass up the river Antwerp was even without turf or dairy produce from Holland, and what they needed in daily life. A great quantity of bread had been wasted earlier in the year at Antwerp, where the Spaniards had collected provisions for the army during the siege of Mons and Orange's invasion. It had been allowed to go bad, and they had to bury it or throw it into the river. Little food came in from the land side, for Alva's soldiers pillaged the farmers and they only produced what they required themselves. A pound of butter cost five stivers, a pound of Dutch cheese three stivers, two eggs one stiver, and so on, in proportion. Faggots were three gulden a hundred, and the people cut down trees in woods, hedges, and orchards without considering their owners. Since very little salt came from Brouage or Oléron, Spain, or Portugal the herring fishing and salting industries were seriously affected, and numbers of those who had been engaged in them joined the Beggars.

Alva did all he could to encourage private enterprise to bring timber, canvas, hemp, tar, and other materials for shipbuilding, as well as grain, from the Baltic, for he required them to equip his fleet and he guaranteed that ships which managed to get past the enemy with such cargoes should not be seized for the King's service. We can judge of the condition of the cloth trade from the fact that when Alva wanted new liveries for his servants and uniforms for his guard he could not find so much dyed cloth in Antwerp and Brussels, and had great difficulty in collecting what a single merchant would have had in the old days. His financial embarrassment became greater as Christmas, 1572, approached; he searched desperately for money in Antwerp to pay his troops, and it looked as if he would be able to do little to recapture Zealand before the spring. It was said that every patart Philip had taken in confiscations had eventually put him an écu out of pocket. Alva spent the winter in preparing a fleet at Antwerp—he hoped it would be forty or fifty sail—to go down in the spring and clear the seas of Beggars, and then ships from the Baltic would be able to ascend the river. For some time it was thought he would shut himself up in the castle as the only safe place in the country. Added to his other miseries was a very severe winter, and when the thaw came floods were feared, for the dikes were not being kept in proper repair. Just before Christmas, 1572, it looked as if Holland and Zealand would be entirely drowned, and if so, it was said, it would be “Good-bye Antwerp” as well, and even Spain would thus feel the effects of the flood. No part of the Provinces still in Alva's power could flourish while Antwerp was so badly off. Vagabonds were on every road and knocked night and day at the doors of monasteries

to demand help, and if it was not given they took what they wanted. But Alva's unpaid troops were the greatest terror of all, and of these the Germans were still preferred to all others by reason of their better behaviour. The cold weather lasted up to the end of April, 1573, and many beasts were lost.

Alva was still plotting the invasion of England or Ireland, but in point of fact he was now more anxious to come to terms with Elizabeth. He knew that since St. Bartholomew, Orange had been looking to her more than ever for help and was offering to give Zealand towns as security for money. By the end of 1572, most of the English had withdrawn from Flushing, for Elizabeth did not wish them to remain after the French departed, as they nearly all did after the Paris massacre.

Negotiations between Elizabeth and Alva culminated in the Convention of Nimeguen, which was signed in March, 1573, and was intended to restore the old amity between the two realms. It provided that neither should shelter the rebels of the other, and Elizabeth hoped the Catholic nobles who had been concerned in the last two conspiracies against her would be handed over. The convention also pledged both parties to it to join in suppressing the Sea-Beggars, and provided for an immediate restoration of commercial intercourse. It seemed as if the long quarrel was over.¹ The convention was published in Antwerp on the 1st of May. Alva hoped that the Sea-Beggars would soon be crushed as a result of this treaty, but in a few weeks Elizabeth had changed her mind, and was thinking again of a French marriage and of giving help to the Beggars, for information which had recently come into Burghley's possession had made it clearer than ever that if the Beggars were driven out of Walcheren, Alva would step from there to England. So it came about that the preparations which Elizabeth was making at Portsmouth and other harbours were more likely to be turned to help the Beggars against Alva than to rid the seas of them, as had been the original intention. These Sea-Beggars had indeed increased vastly in courage during the season of long, dark nights. At two o'clock in the morning of the 14th of January, 1573, two of their ships got up to the Beerhoft and cutting the chains took seven ships full of wheat from the quay and brought them back to Zealand in spite of a cannonade from the castle. Before starting down again they landed at the New Town and captured some citizens and took them with them. They carried out some such enterprise every day in January, 1573.

The failure of the armed rising of the year before had inspired confidence among the Spaniards at home, and merchants began to send ships again with rich cargoes, which the Beggars sharked up in the channel.

¹ A tract drawn up in 1572 shows that there were some in England who would have turned the quarrel to advantage by helping Ipswich to become an "Antwerp in England." See "Calendar of State Papers, Dom.," 1547-80, p. 447.

In the spring Alva "pressed" sailors on the Flemish coast to serve in his fleet, and foreign merchants were compelled to contribute towards the cost of equipping it. Artillery was brought from all over the country and it was planned that the fleet should carry four hundred pieces. Fifty great merchantmen converted for war were at length ready and a large number of small ships to carry supplies for the besieged towns.

The first important naval action of the year was fought in the beginning of February under the guns of Rammekens Castle, and Philip's ships got the worst of it, as usual. On land Alva had been investing Harlem since December.

On the 28th of February thirty-five ships of war and foodships sailed from Antwerp under Sancho d'Avila. The Beggars had tried to shut them up by sinking several vessels full of earth and stone off Lillo, three leagues below Antwerp, but they failed in their purpose and the fleet sailed down.

The greatest anxiety as to the result of the coming battle was felt by those still loyal to Philip. If the Spaniards were not successful, Middelburg would soon fall and perhaps all the Provinces be lost; but if Middelburg was relieved then the Beggars would see they were likely to do no more good. On the day after sailing (a Sunday) the Spanish fleet lay a little below the sunken ships, and on the Monday went to Terneuzen. On Tuesday heavy firing was heard in the town, and every one was very anxious. In the action which was taking place the Beggars brought a terrific fire to bear on the enemy. Some of the Spaniards' ships were captured, others ran aground, and the rest were driven under the guns of Rammekens Castle, where another ran aground, and thence the rest returned to Antwerp when wind and tide were favourable, but followed by the Beggars and fighting as they went, so that eleven ships and eight hundred men were lost. The remainder anchored below the town to prevent the magnitude of the disaster becoming known, but the hospitals were filled with wounded. The Spaniards were forced to realize that they had not got sailors as good as those who manned the Beggars' ships.

The Beggars used ships which the English called "flibots" (*vliebooten*) of forty to a hundred tons, or even a hundred and forty, on which they put sometimes as many as twenty guns, and always a well-trained crew. Near the mast was a breastwork to screen the gunners and arquebus-men. Every sailor had an arquebus. They used also ships called "crumsters" (*cromme-steven*), which drew little water and yet could carry several pieces of artillery and were very easily handled. They got their name from their prows, which were in the form of a crescent. Alva sent through France, Denmark, and the Baltic Provinces for seamen, and in April we find the Bishop of Bremen sending him four hundred.

On the last day of April another attempt was made to relieve Middelburg and Ter Goes, and several others followed during the spring and summer, all under d'Avila's command, and sometimes the ships got right down to Flushing, but the result of the engagements was usually the same, that is to say, a heavy defeat for the Spaniards. Sometimes supplies were thrown into Middelburg, but at terrible cost. Often when d'Avila's ships sailed from Antwerp part of the Beggars' fleet would lie in the creek named the Bome which ran up to Bergen-op-Zoom, and when they had passed, get in their rear and hold them while the main fleet attacked the van. Their better seamanship enabled the Beggars to do very much what they liked with the enemy, but no victory was quite decisive. As an instance of the few successes achieved by the Spaniards may be quoted that of the fleet which sailed from Antwerp in the middle of April, and was composed of thirty-five ships under Beauvoir, the victor at Austruweel, who had held Middelburg until Mondragon took over the command from him. They succeeded in throwing supplies into Middelburg, but their losses were great, and anyone in Antwerp who dared to say that the expedition had not been successful was punished. Before the fleet started, Sonnius and the canons of Our Lady's and the Spanish officers had gone in solemn procession to the river-side in the New Town and blessed and prayed for it.

The convention entered into with Elizabeth was celebrated with fêtes at Antwerp, and the magistrates gave a banquet to the English in the town when it was published, but the Scheldt so swarmed with Beggars' ships that the English merchants did not care about going up to Antwerp. They wished that either loyalist or patriot would destroy the other; they cared little which survived so long as there were not two to make a quarrel. A deputation of the Merchant Adventurers went to Flushing to get the blockade raised, for they were anxious to go up to Antwerp again toll-free, and they urged on those who ruled the town that they owed much to the English; when, to their surprise, they were bluntly told that what the English had done had been for their own ends alone, and not from any goodwill they bore the Netherlands, and that Elizabeth had sent no powder or shot or victuals to Flushing until the town was placed under her protection, and that she wanted to put her own garrison into it, so that she could give it back to Alva. The Flushingers were probably goaded to make the worst of the Queen's conduct by her having entered into the convention with Alva. Eventually Orange agreed with the Merchant Adventurers to allow their ships to go up to Antwerp four at a time, leaving their cannon at Flushing, no dues to be paid; but they might take back with them none of the coarser stuffs—worsted, moccasos, canvas, or bayes—the making of which was the livelihood of Protestant

refugees in England. In return the English ports were to be open to the Beggars and opportunity given them to buy arms, victuals, and powder, and a loan was to be made to them. This agreement received Orange's consent on the 15th of May, 1573.

On the 15th of July the great bell was played and a Mass sung in the cathedral and salutes fired in the castle for the fall of Harlem to the Spaniards; this success was counteracted by the betrayal of the Castle of Rammekens to the Beggars on the 2nd of August. This castle was on Walcheren overlooking the Western Scheldt or Hont, and its loss made it more difficult for the Spaniards to communicate with Middelburg; and when Alva heard of it he ordered Beauvoir to make at once another effort to relieve that town.

Beauvoir sailed on the 9th of August and, failing to draw the Beggars into action, fired on Flushing and sailed out to sea and passing round Walcheren anchored near Veere. He succeeded in sending supplies into Middelburg, but a tempest arose and he lost several ships. On the way home he passed close to Flushing, and for the rest of the way was pursued by small ships of the enemy and sustained further losses. This cruise had been rather longer than usual, and no serious opposition had been offered because most of the enemy's fighting men had been put ashore for land service. They showed, on the 27th of August, that they were not asleep, for they came up to Schooten, five miles north of the town, and carried off Martin van Ranst, a skepyn of Antwerp, and took him to Dortrecht. At about this time Louis Boisot became admiral of the Beggars' fleet. On the last day of August the town of Gertruydenberg was seized for Orange and the Beggars, which was a heavy blow to the people of Antwerp, for most of the fresh fish caught in Holland came to them through that town, and they got no more sturgeon or salmon, nor any more Dutch butter or cheese.

Alva's fleet was again refitted, and sailed in the middle of November to throw supplies into Middelburg, but even at the start it was unlucky, for a farewell salute sent two cannon-balls into the town, damaging a house at the corner of the English quay and killing half a dozen men. Before the failure of the attempt was known Alva was no longer Governor-General. A mutiny of the Spanish soldiers before Alkmaar—the first of any importance which had as yet occurred among the soldiers of this nation—had upset his plans for the last weeks of the summer and made success on the Scheldt unlikely.

On the day on which the loyalists in Antwerp were rejoicing over the surrender of Harlem the States of Holland had recognized William of Orange as Stadtholder. Gertruydenberg had been taken by troops he had sent for the purpose, and he was now the recognized leader even of the Sea-Beggars, and the defeat and

capture of Boussu off Enkhuizen on the 11th of October showed the strength of his sea-power. Soon after leaving Antwerp in 1567, he had become a Lutheran, after having been secretly inclined towards that sect. Now, in the autumn of 1573, he became a Calvinist, realizing that there was nothing but the holding of the same religion which would bind the rebels together against the King. As the superiority of the Beggars on the water became evident, he turned his attention more and more to affairs in Zeeland, where Calvinism was the only religion.

Charles IX was again inclined to help Orange and the rebels, and it was thought he might take men out of his garrisons at Metz, Toul, and Verdun and make a sudden move on Maastricht, Antwerp, or some other important town. The plan was at one time that Louis of Nassau should take Maastricht, and if he had carried it out his cavalry could have ridden right up to the gates of Antwerp, Breda, and Brussels. The Beggars had shown a greater confidence on land since the capture of Gertruydenberg, and they were pillaging from Amsterdam to Brussels and appearing in small parties under the walls of Antwerp, but they were not fit to meet Philip's troops in the field. Even Spanish officers had to admit that the Hollanders and Zealanders showed themselves great sailors and that they had proved that they possessed the talent and aptitude for this art, in which they were born and bred.

Alva's successor arrived at Brussels on the 17th of November, and on the 29th Alva handed over the Governor-Generalship and departed on the 18th of the following month. Bernardino de Mendoza, speaking of his work in the Provinces, says that Fortune does not love old soldiers, and that if they meet with reverses the world gives them no credit for their earlier successes, but attributes them to chance more than ability. When news of the image-breaking of 1566 reached the Forest of Segovia, Philip had asked Alva for his advice, and his answer was that the rebels should be punished by force of arms and put in such terror that their condition would be a lesson to Philip's other subjects. The number of executions of heretics and those concerned in the religious troubles and in the rebellion is not known. Some put it at more than eighteen thousand. At a supper just before his departure Alva boasted that he had put that number to death—of both sexes and of all ages and qualities. Gachard puts the number at six or eight thousand. In the first three months of 1568, Alva caused to be read at the Town House of Antwerp three hundred and sixteen sentences of banishment. Mertens and Torfs hold that sixty-three persons were put to death at Antwerp for heresy during his administration. Anyway, the number of executions, whatever it was, was not too many for the King. He and Alva both forgot what Machiavelli wished to teach them: "A Prince ought to inspire fear in such a way that

if he does not win love he avoids hatred. He will not suffer by being feared so long as he is not hated, and he will not be hated as long as he abstains from the property of the citizens and from their women. Above everything he must keep from their property, for men more quickly forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony."¹

The cause of Protestantism was lost in Antwerp and the Southern Provinces when the iconoclastic outrages had disgusted decent people, and the fiasco at Austruweel seemed to have given it the death-blow. Then came the savage conduct of the Spanish and Italian soldiers, which set Catholics as well as Protestants against any foreign ruler ; but there was not enough hatred in the Provinces in 1568 to make the people rise for Orange when he invaded the country. However, between his first and second invasion men's pockets had been touched by the breaking off of commercial relations with England and the imposition of the ten and five per cent taxes. It was the loss sustained thereby which put a greater determination into the more hardy and resourceful and led to the successes in Zeeland and the better welcome given in the south to his army in 1572.

Champagney, the Governor of Antwerp, who was loyal to Philip and a Catholic, gave it as his opinion years afterwards that if the Provinces had been treated with justice, truth, kindness, and love, it would have been easy to rule them even with regard to matters concerning religion, for, he says, although religion appeared to have been the cause of the troubles, Orange had always stirred up the people to maintain their ancient liberties and privileges and to suspect novelties and violence which he said were coming from Spain.² The most astonishing blunder, however, which Alva made was not in the administration of the country but touched his reputation as a soldier, namely, his neglect to fortify and hold Flushing. Sir Roger Williams, the Welsh soldier, always conspicuous among Elizabeth's fighting men, points out that he should have finished the castle there rather than that at Antwerp.³ Alva had been a failure in every way. There had been a time when money was sent from the Provinces to Spain, but now it went the other way, and yet the troops remained unpaid. It was said that every Spanish and Italian soldier cost Philip a hundred crowns before he reached the Provinces, and that not above one crown in ten got to the country, the rest being "drunk up" by the officers.

After the loss of Briel there was a lull in the persecution of heretics until the end of the year, but then it began again. A house on the Oever was raided on the 12th of January and thirty-five Anabaptists were captured, including many women,

¹ "The Prince," Chapter VII.

² "Mémoires," p. 313, etc.

³ "Actions of the Low Countries," p. 344.

and this coup provided victims for several months. Batches of them were burnt—seventeen in two months. These persons when arrested made little secrecy about their being Anabaptists, and it is quite evident that the authorities still confused—or pretended to confuse—their doctrines with those of the earlier members of this sect, who had seized Münster. One of them on being questioned told the Margrave that his belief was as far removed from that of the followers of John of Leyden as Heaven was from earth, and he said that he recognized his duty to pay taxes and so forth. The other eighteen were burnt in the summer and autumn.

“*Het Bloedig Tooneel*” tells us how a son searched among the ashes after his mother had been burnt, and finding the vice used to gag her kept it to remind him of her fate. There were, of course, hangings and stranglings over recent events. After the departure of Alva there were few of these awful executions. One of the last he caused to take place was of a more important man than these heretics. When Louis was hard pressed in Mons Jean de Hangest, Sieur de Genlis, brought an army of French Huguenots into the Provinces to help him, but it was cut to pieces and he captured and sent to Antwerp Castle. After a time he made an attempt to escape—so it was said—and this served as an excuse for keeping him in irons. In October, 1573, Philip wrote to Alva that it would be best to put him and the other French prisoners to death secretly, and a month later Alva was able to answer that he was dead—the report having been previously put about that he was ill.

CHAPTER VII

REQUESENS

DON LOUIS DE REQUESENS, Grand-Commander of Castile, who had arrived in the Netherlands as Alva's successor, was at this time forty-six years old. He had done good service against the Moors and at Lepanto and came from the Governorship of Milan. When he took over the Governor-Generalship the soldiers' pay was in arrears and the treasury was empty—that was to cause the tragedy of the new Governor's life. As for the fleet it had suffered heavily in action, part of what remained being hemmed into Bergen-op-Zoom, whither it had fled after the last fight, and the rest lying at Antwerp. The sailors were deserting to their homes at Dunkirk, Nieuport, and Gand, some because they were not paid, some complaining that the victuals had been too long in store and were bad, and others frankly saying they had no desire to fight for a lost cause. Requesens made his first state visit to Antwerp in December, 1753, and set himself at once to relieve Middelburg.

Beauvoir was still in command of the fleet and it was very difficult to get him to move—Roger Williams said he was a "white livered souldier"—but he excused himself by saying he lacked sailors, victuals, artillery, and other things, and that the enemy was too strong for him. The Grand-Commander wrote to Philip within a few days of his arrival at Antwerp to tell him these things and to show how different was the fitting-out of a fleet there from what he had experienced it to be in the Mediterranean, where the owners of ships found the sailors, artillery, and all equipment and the military commander had only to provide the victuals. At Antwerp he had to provide everything, and difficult enough it was to do. He would gladly have removed Beauvoir from his command, distrusting his loyalty to Philip more than his courage, but he had few officers at all acquainted with service at sea, and so he left him in command at Bergen-op-Zoom, and put Sancho d'Avila in command at Antwerp. So little hope, however, had he of re-establishing the King's authority by force that he quickly reported to Philip that he feared he would have to give up that better way and resort to a General Pardon. Making a virtue of necessity he talked much in public of the milder sway which Philip had sent him to institute. A more straightforward effort to restore confidence in Antwerp was the abolition of the new Chambers of Justice and of Accounts.

Middelburg and Armuyden could not hold out much longer, for the inhabitants had been living on rats, mice, dogs, and cats for weeks, and the diet was undermining their love for Philip.

By the middle of January, 1574, by desperate efforts the Spaniards had got together better fleets than they had yet sent out, and Requesens went from Antwerp to Bergen-op-Zoom looking forward to being the spectator of another Battle of Lepanto. Beauvoir was ill, and so the fleet at Bergen-op-Zoom was under the Seigneur de Glimes, a Netherland noble, and Julian Romero, a Spanish officer. The Antwerp fleet consisting of thirty large vessels sailed under d'Avila on the 22nd of January, 1574. The two fleets were to unite and throw supplies into Middelburg. D'Avila sailed against wind and stream and before he had gone far down the Scheldt lost one vessel sunk and another aground; but sailing on to Flushing he cast anchor and waited for the other fleet, which, however, had been overtaken by disaster off Romersweal on the 29th, under the eyes of Requesens, who had followed it along the dike of Schakerloo, on which he was standing with his staff. The Admiral of Zeeland, Louis Boisot, opened the attack and captured nine or ten of the Spaniards' best ships, the crews and soldiers being all thrown overboard as had become the custom in these fights, many officers having their gold chains still round their necks, so that Requesens and others entitled to speak said that the cruelty was worse than when Christian and Turk fought in the Mediterranean. Julian Romero, who was the real commander, escaped by swimming, but de Glimes was killed, and the vessels which could still keep afloat fled back to Bergen-op-Zoom. As Romero struggled ashore at Requesens's feet he said, "Your Excellency well knows that I am not a sailor but a soldier." Darkness, wind, and tide alone saved the fleet from annihilation. News of the disaster was brought to d'Avila by a sloop and he weighed anchor before Flushing and retired to Ter Goes and thence in panic to Antwerp. So many guns were lost that Requesens never again had enough of them, and more than two hundred thousand ducats had been spent on equipping the two fleets. The Hollanders and Zealanders were full of joy, for now there was no hope for Middelburg; but the Spaniards were sad enough when their fleet approached the Wharf at Antwerp. Middelburg and Armuyden surrendered on the 18th of February and all the Island of Walcheren was in the hands of the Gueux. No doubt this last disaster was due, to some extent, to treachery on the part of the seamen in Philip's service, whose sympathies were naturally with their fellow-countrymen and who had learnt to hate d'Avila and the other Spanish and Italian officers for their insolent manner towards Beauvoir and other Netherlanders, who were much more at home on board ship than they. Before reaching the Provinces, Requesens had wondered how it was that Hollanders

and Zealanders could so long withstand Philip's power and meet with so much success. Now he realized that it was the enthusiasm they felt for their cause. Orange was never at a loss for the best seamen in the world, and his sea-power enabled him not only to collect supplies himself but also to deprive the Spaniards of all such as came by sea. Requesens's sailors were nearly all pressed men, on the look-out for an opportunity of deserting, and often were only canal-bargemen or turf-cutters from the Campine, who were sea-sick and useless in action if the weather was rough.

One of the Grand-Commander's first cares on his arrival in the Provinces had been to secure the French frontier, but most of his troops were on the banks of the Scheldt and in Holland. There was no likelihood of the Beggars meeting with any notable success in the field, and they certainly could not capture a town that was held by an adequate garrison; but much might be done by treachery, and after Middelburg was captured Orange entered into communication with some inhabitants of Antwerp, who promised to deliver the town into his hands. In one of the fights in the Scheldt two Spaniards had been taken prisoner, who told Orange that their comrades in Antwerp Castle had received hardly any pay for two years and that some of them were prepared to hand over the town and castle to him for a sum of money—twenty thousand ducats. Orange sent the Spaniards back to Antwerp with a false story as to the cause of their release and dispatched a certain Jan de Vos, who spoke Spanish well, and Peter Torqueau of Tournay, and three or four others to Antwerp to form a plot to be carried out on the 5th of March, 1574. These men entered the town secretly and lodged at the "Looking Glass" on the Corn Market. On Market-days, or whenever crowds of country folk entered by the gates, now came in with them soldiers in disguise, mostly Wild-Beggars from the forests round Ypres or from Holland, Zealand, or even Cleves, two or three at a time until four or five hundred had been collected. They had certain secret signs by which to know each other and they were given arms on arrival. The arrangements provided that these men should work in conjunction with Louis of Nassau, who was again leading an army into the Provinces and hoped to do with Antwerp what he had almost succeeded in doing with Mons. The invading force was to be before Antwerp on the 5th of March and the fleet was to come up from Zealand and with the help of the conspirators the town would be taken. Unfortunately the conspiracy came to light. Some said the chief of the Spanish traitors was denounced by his paramour, others that it was disclosed by a Walloon conspirator, others that the Spaniards began to spend money freely and attracted the attention of their officers; but however it came about, the Spaniards were arrested together with several of their comrades, for the

conspiracy had spread among the garrison in the castle. Torture failed to make them reveal their accomplices. Jan de Vos escaped to Holland, Peter Torqueau disappeared, and the soldiers managed to get out of the town in much the same manner as they had got into it. Many arrests were made, but it was not possible to prove anything against more than four. Over five hundred inhabitants, however, fled—even Spanish and other foreign merchants—fearing arrest. The two Spanish soldiers round whom the plot had been formed were executed—strangled and then quartered—with two Antwerpens, one of whom was the landlord of the “Looking Glass,” on the 3rd of March. By that time Louis of Nassau was crossing the Meuse, expecting some help in Antwerp, but hearing that the plot had been discovered he turned aside.¹ Orange had hoped that similar plots would succeed in Ghent, Maastricht, and Valenciennes. If either Antwerp or Maastricht had been betrayed to Louis his expedition would probably have been successful and all Brabant and Flanders would have risen to join his brother in a final struggle for independence.

Since the fall of Middelburg the Beggars had been full of hope. Their cavalry, and infantry too, began to make incursions into Brabant from Holland and Zealand right up to the walls of Antwerp, threatening to burn and destroy all kinds of property if money was not handed over by way of ransom, and the people paid what was demanded.

Many officers were of opinion that the Grand-Commander would be well advised to content himself with securing the strong places. Conspiracies, like that discovered at Antwerp, were feared in other towns and it was doubtful how far France might go towards helping Louis, for it was known that a strong contingent of French was already with him. The garrison at Antwerp was considerably strengthened after the discovery of the intended treachery.

From Maastricht Louis moved down the Meuse, and on the 14th of April he encountered Philip's army under d'Avila at the village of Mook near the frontier of Cleves and was utterly defeated, being himself among the slain. On the 17th of April, the great bell at Antwerp rang for the victory and a Mass was sung. On the next day all the gates were kept shut, for no sooner had d'Avila's troops secured victory than they mutinied and it was anticipated that they would march on the town. Three years' pay was due to most of them, and to mutiny under such circumstances was what had come to be their custom, but they mutinied after battle and not before it. They appointed a commander of their choice, called *Electo*, and a second in command styled *sergeant-major*, and remained as a rule under some sort of self-imposed discipline, but refused the authority of Philip's officers.

¹ Haræus, Vol. III, p. 200.

On the 19th of April, a sergeant came down from the castle to see Champagney, the Governor of the town, with a message from the lieutenant that the mutineers had reached Bois-le-Duc on their way to seize Antwerp to make the citizens pay what was due to them. The Governor's fear was that when they arrived they would be joined by the Spaniards in the castle and possibly by the Walloons and Germans under his own command in the town and the sailors on the ships. The part of the town wall which was demolished to make room for the castle had not been rebuilt along the entire distance, so that a gap remained between the castle and St. George's Gate, by which it would be easy for the mutineers to enter. Champagney therefore sent post to Requesens at Brussels. In the gap he stationed four companies of the Walloons under his command on the night of the 19th, and the German mercenaries in Philip's service were placed in other parts of the town. Next day he allowed only St. George's Gate and three gates on the river-side to be opened, and issued orders against lodging soldiers or admitting them into the town. The Military Guilds were told to hold themselves in readiness, but the Governor took all these precautions with as much secrecy as possible, for fear of alarming the merchants and shopkeepers. On the 22nd, d'Avila presented himself at St. George's Gate with a company of mounted harquebusmen. Champagney was willing to admit him and his staff, but not the harquebusmen, not even knowing if they were in the King's service or where they came from, whereupon d'Avila led all his party into the castle and sent them into the town from there without the Governor's consent. As a matter of fact, the harquebusmen were in Philip's service and had fought at Mook, but once in the town they behaved with the greatest violence, howling and shrieking and waving banners captured in the battle. Fights took place in the streets between these men and the Walloons, and it was their delight to terrify the people by telling them that soon the whole army of mutineers would arrive and would take the town and stay in possession of it until they received the pay owing to them. Again and again Champagney sent to Requesens at Brussels. On the afternoon of the 23rd he sent three of his officers to the castle to congratulate d'Avila on his victory and to tell him that there was good reason to suppose that the mutineers intended to enter the town by the gap in the wall, and to point out to him that his duty to Philip called him to oppose them and to prevent help being given them by the castle garrison; but d'Avila was insolent in his answer and refused to co-operate. Requesens arrived by water on the 24th of April, feeling that the welfare of Antwerp was important to him since it was the only source from which he was likely to draw any money in the future.

William of Orange had been greatly depressed by the news

of the disaster at Mook and the failure of the conspiracy at Antwerp, and only recovered his usual determined attitude when he heard of the mutiny which snatched the fruits of victory from Philip. The preceding winter had been unusually severe and the Spaniards and Italians had suffered terribly in the northern climate, in the midst of inundations, constantly at work, usually half starved, and always unpaid ; and they regarded it as fair that the Netherlanders should contribute to their support, for they regarded them all, even when, like the Antwerpers, they were in obedience to the King, as fit to be spoiled, if it could be suggested against a minority that they were in communication with the rebels. The recent disclosures concerning the conspiracy marked Antwerp out for their attention. A number of Antwerp merchants and traders, headed by Gilles Hoffman, were known to favour the Beggars, and the reports of how far they would go to help Orange were exaggerated by certain loyalists in order to provide an excuse should the Spanish turn to pillage the town. By this time nothing but the worst possible behaviour was expected from the Spaniards.

The mutineers moved towards Antwerp, crossing the Meuse at Grave. Champagney had wished to make a rampart or defence of some kind between the castle and the town to stop any Spaniards entering from the former, but Requesens would not consent.

On the 26th the mutineers entered by the gap in the wall and Requesens ordered that no opposition should be offered them. Indeed, to do so would have been foolhardy, for they numbered between two and three thousand—veterans flushed with victory—and they might have been provoked to massacre the people and sack the town.

They drew themselves up on the Meer and Requesens addressed the Electo and other leaders, exhorting them to abstain from disorder, and expressed his desire to satisfy their demands, at the same time telling them that their presence in the town was likely to dry up the only source from which money could be got. He urged them to go out to the villages, but they refused to do so. They billeted themselves on the burghers, choosing the houses of the richest and demanding from them sumptuous entertainment. They were to be found in the houses around the great Market Place and the Meer and in those which lay between these two spots. Champagney retired with his Walloons to the New Town and fortified the house of the Easterlings, where he stayed until the 28th, when Requesens made him withdraw from the town as it seemed as if the mutineers would fall upon his men.

Many people were panic-stricken and began to put their goods into ships and wagons, but Requesens forbade their departure. Even if the mutineers behaved well, they

put their hosts to an expense which can be realized to some extent when we learn that in many houses in which several of them were billeted the cost of the wine which they consumed alone amounted to twenty gulden a day. The difficulty in dealing with them was all the greater because dishonest paymasters had not kept the pay-sheets in proper order for the last eight years, and it was impossible to tell what was actually owing to each man. Many who had only been with the army a few months claimed three years' pay. The magistrates did not make much difficulty about granting the two hundred thousand crowns demanded, but the disorders in the town prevented such a sum being got together, for merchants did not dare go to the Bourse.

Nothing but Requesens's presence prevented the mutineers pillaging and burning the town and massacring the people, and a Spanish priest revealed that he had heard from Spanish soldiers that the mutiny was the result of a conspiracy with the Beggars, a piece of information which was not true, but was coloured by the assertion that not ten of the mutineers went to confession or communicated during Lent as good Catholics would do. As for the behaviour of the most ruffianly they held their hosts to ransom, fired guns and harquebuses in the streets, broke doors and windows, attacked the Governor's house in Tanners Street, and would have sacked it had he not already managed to get most of his furniture away to the country houses of his friends. Drunken parties shouted at night, banged on front doors, pulled bells, fired pistols through windows, and terrified every one. It is impossible to describe their behaviour in the Town House when they got possession of it.

Before order was restored they deposed their first Electo, who had tried to appease them, and put another in his place, who was responsible for a curious scene. A deputation of Spaniards went to the cathedral and demanded a priest with all that was necessary for a celebration of Mass on the Market Place. The Vicar-General would have had them come to Mass in the cathedral, for it was not right to hold it in the open air. The serjeant-major then broke into the sacristy and took what he wanted and an altar was erected on the Market Place. A Spanish priest celebrated Mass, the Dean, Roger de Taxis, being compelled to be present. At this service the mutineers took oath to the new Electo and pledged themselves not to leave the town until all had received their due. They behaved slightly better after this, and the magistrates produced their two hundred thousand crowns, which was to be a loan to Requesens at interest for six months, and of that sum the *nations* of merchants provided fifty thousand crowns. Requesens himself sold all his plate to pay the troops.

The misery which the townspeople had endured during these

days reached those who worked in Plantin's printing house, and Arias Montanus was filled with sadness because more than three hundred women were said to have been prematurely confined owing to their fear. He told Vitelli of his distress and that distinguished soldier said that it was no great matter, for there were still more than seven hundred pregnant. Some told another version of this story and said that Vitelli answered that if so many women had indeed suffered such injury, yet the mutineers would see that more than that number were with child before they left the town. Two or three thousand women were said to have fled to Flanders with nothing but what they stood up in. A steward in the service of a rich lady slightly wounded a mutineer in a quarrel, and he was seized by the latter's comrades and handed over to the Electo. Requesens ordered that he should be put in the proper custody, that is to say, in that of the Margrave, but a tumult arose and the mutineers forced the Electo's guard, seized the burgher, cut his nose, ears, and eyes, and then killed him and hung his body head downwards from a gibbet and fired at it with harquebuses.

On the 9th of May, the Spaniards in the castle mutinied and tried to drive out d'Avila and his lieutenant, which was considered by good Spanish soldiers to be an unheard-of offence, even for mutineers; but d'Avila said he would rather be killed than give up the castle, and they could not turn him out. The sergeant-major who had been elected by the mutineers in the castle would have ousted the Electo there and have taken his place, but he was killed in the castle by an officer, who also killed the Electo some hours afterwards: a fit end, it was thought, for both. After this the mutineers in the castle came to terms with Requesens.

It proved impossible to get together enough money to pay up all the arrears in money, and the mutineers at length agreed to take part in cloths. The paying-out began in St. Michael's Cloister on the 27th of May and lasted three days. On the 30th, Whit Sunday, Requesens went to the cathedral to Mass and took oath for their pardon. Many of the soldiers gave liberally of what they received to churches and cloisters, the Grey Friars alone being given, it was said, four thousand gulden and the Jesuits even more. After Mass the soldiers made a banquet on the Meer and Meer Bridge, and some who had been without a crown the day before came to it dressed in the silks or cloths of gold which had been dealt out to them in lieu of pay. After feasting many lost on a single throw of the dice what they had earned in months of misery, pain, and hunger.

After the naval disaster off Bergen-op-Zoom in January, de Glimes had been succeeded as Admiral by Adolph van Haemstede, a Netherlander. When the mutineers were reported to be approaching Antwerp, the Spanish fleet, with Haemstede on board,

in order to get away from them, went down-stream and lay between Lillo and Callo. On hearing of what was going on in Antwerp, Orange took his chance, and on the Whit Sunday, which saw the mutineers feasting on the Meer, thirty of his ships under Boisot, sailed up the river. It was apiece with everything done in the Spanish navy that the Admiral should suppose an attack to be unlikely and most of the officers and men be ashore. The sailors on board fled at sight of the enemy, some in small boats and some by swimming; some ran the ships aground, and there was no fight at all. The Beggars captured van Haemstede, burnt six ships and captured eight, of which three were large and contained much fine artillery and magnificent furniture belonging to the Admiral, taken on board to save it from the mutineers. The thunder of Boisot's guns told the revellers on the Meer what was happening a league away, and then they ran, none too willingly, to arms, and over dikes and dunes, through mud and water, still in their costly silks, firing muskets and pistols at the Zealanders. If the Spaniards could have brought up more artillery their fleet might have been saved, but they could not find horses, and so could do nothing under the hot fire from the Beggars' ships. The captured vessels were taken to Flushing, the crews being hanged or thrown overboard. Van Haemstede was taken to Delft.

Only sixteen ill-equipped vessels now remained to Philip in the Scheldt and fourteen at Amsterdam, and Requesens asked for a fleet to be sent from Spain to repair his loss and in the meantime was compelled to attempt to conquer Zealand by land. On the 2nd of June, the Spanish soldiers who had mutinied went out to Borgerhout, and left the neighbourhood on the 5th for Holland, to re-form the siege of Leyden, which had been abandoned when Louis invaded the country, and Requesens went to Brussels.

The royal fleet had to be rebuilt and it was very difficult to find another admiral, for he ought to be a Netherlander or the Netherland sailors might refuse to follow him. Requesens offered the post to thirty in turn, including Champagny, who all refused it. When naval officers and men were secured they had to be paid four times as much as was usual in Spain and Italy. The late Admiral, Beauvoir, died at Liège on the 2nd of June on his way to take the waters at Spa, and van Haemstede being in the enemy's hands the charge of the Antwerp fleet had to be given to a Spaniard, Juan Martinez de Recalde.

Requesens won popularity by restoring her constitution to the town, by removing Alva's statue to a cellar and by adopting a conciliatory attitude, but the mutiny had tarnished his reputation, for it was thought, rather unjustly, that he might have averted it or at all events have kept the mutineers out of the town. It can fairly be said that nothing but his presence preserved it from pillage and the people from murder. He was a

very pious man, and soon after his arrival in the Provinces had advised the King that what Antwerp most needed was a greater number of preachers—Dominicans, Austin Friars, Carmelites, and, above all, Jesuits, to whose society he was particularly attached. Three or four of them had been in Antwerp for several years and had been allowed to hold services in the parish church of St. James, for they had no chapel of their own until 1571. It was only in 1574 that they bought the beautiful House of Aachen, or Aix, by which time their number had grown to fourteen. Requesens preferred monks and Jesuits to secular clergy, whom he suspected, in the Provinces, of being tainted with heresy. The General Pardon had arrived while Louis of Nassau was invading the country, but its publication was delayed until the 16th of June, 1575. At the same time came the King's permission for Requesens to suppress the Blood Council and the ten and five per cent taxes in return for a regular subsidy. The Pardon was conditioned on a return to the Catholic Faith, and from it were excluded only some three hundred persons—Orange, Culembourg, Marnix de St. Aldegonde, Dathenus, Taffin, Modet, Wesenbeke, Bombergen, and such as they. The goods which had been confiscated were in a few cases to be restored. The Northern Provinces had by this time entirely departed from the old faith and so would not accept the Pardon. Little gratitude was displayed at Antwerp for the remission of the taxes of the tenth and twentieth pennies, and when the Broad Council was called on to discuss the proposition that two million gulden should be granted instead, the "good men of the poortery" spoke of all they had already granted to build the castle, to fortify and furnish it, to fit out the fleets which had been destroyed, and of the property of the Antwerpens which had been lost in the sack of Malines and Valenciennes, and at sea to the Beggars. They spoke of what they had lent to the King and of all the loss incurred through the quarrel with England and the pillaging of the country by the soldiery. Antwerp would soon be but "a forsaken packhouse," and provisions were very expensive. The Government pointed out that Antwerp was now a frontier town and ought to be fortified against the enemy.

Another conciliatory move made by Requesens had been the summoning of the States-General, whose work, however, was spoilt by the mutiny. When that was over the States of Brabant insisted that the Joyous Entry forbade Sancho d'Avila, who was not a Brabanter, being Governor of Antwerp Castle, to which post he had been reappointed by Philip on the 12th of May as a reward for his victory at Mook. The point seemed to Requesens to be ridiculous, for was not the castle built to curb the Brabanters?

It was a little difficult to get Champagney to return to Antwerp after his retreat before the mutineers. He had offered his



VIEW OF ANTWERP FROM THE RIVER
FROM A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PRINT BY CLEMENT DE JONGHE

resignation of the Governorship of the town as a protest against Requesens's conduct in preventing his proposed opposition to the mutineers, but it was not accepted. He had the greatest sympathy with the townspeople and felt that if they had escaped massacre and pillage on this occasion they would fall to it before long.

The General Pardon published by Requesens had pleased Queen Elizabeth, who was of opinion that if it bore good fruit it might benefit her, for she did not like the idea either of an independent republic or of the French in Zealand and Antwerp. In the meantime she collected a fleet in case the talked-of armada should sail from Spain. Seeing no chance of help from England, Orange had turned his eyes again towards France, but the death of Charles IX in May, 1574, prevented its being sent. Now that their fleet was gone the conquest of Zealand offered almost insuperable difficulties to the Spaniards. Nothing could be done until the armada arrived, and if it made the voyage without disaster, which was hardly likely, it could revictual nowhere but in England. Elizabeth would give permission for it to do so, but she might change her mind while it was on its way. The destination of the fleet was much discussed, some saying it would try to fight its way through the Sea-Beggars to Antwerp, others that it would go to Emden, but most thought it would find its way to the bottom of the sea before it had struck a blow. Sluis had silted up to a great extent during the century, but it could still shelter large ships, though not the very largest; and it was the only harbour of importance in Flanders, but its entrance was so narrow that vessels were obliged to enter one by one and while so doing were exposed to attack from Flushing. Neither Dunkirk, Nieuport, nor Ostend could accommodate large ships. The best haven the Spaniards held was at the Texel, which took any number of the largest vessels and would be very useful against England at any time, but it was exposed to attack on the land side. The Spaniards still had some ships at Amsterdam, but they were not in a condition to do good service. Everything was looked for from the fleet from Spain.

The Merchant Adventurers were now, with Orange's permission, bringing their merchandise up to Antwerp in accordance with the treaty of 1573. This displeased Requesens, who would have preferred their going to a port which they could reach without passing the Beggars, as they had to do to reach Antwerp. He declared his belief that they must be paying toll for permission and must be in understanding with the enemy. The Englishmen protested that the other ports on the Flemish coast still in Philip's possession were too dangerous for laden ships. He arrested some of their vessels at Antwerp and interrupted trade for a time, but Elizabeth declared that the merchants had no dealings with the Flushingers and came to an understanding

with him. In July, 1574, she promised to allow the coming armada to revictual in England. More and more had the opinion grown in her that it would be better for her if peace were restored in the Provinces in such a way that neither Spain nor France would have a strong position in the maritime provinces: therefore she hoped to see Requesens's terms accepted and the country return to the Catholic Faith—on which point Philip was most firm—in return for such liberty as would make the Provinces almost independent.

On the 21st of August, 1574, Philip and Elizabeth entered into a commercial convention, but disputes still went on; and although the English merchants promised to enter a bond to have nothing to do with the Flushingers as they passed up the river, yet Requesens in the autumn forbade their using the Sheldt.

With the disappearance of hope of any help being sent to the rebels by France, England, or Germany it seemed as if a deadlock would be reached, for they did not expect to do much on land, and Requesens knew his feebleness on the water, so that both sides had thoughts of peace. Negotiations were begun which culminated in the conference at Breda.

On the 3rd of October, Leyden was relieved by Boisot and his sailors. Meteren gives an interesting description of the Sea-Beggars at this time—rough men of austere and terrifying appearance, scarred by wounds, some having lost a limb, their one aim being to secure liberty for their country and freedom from tyranny of Pope and Inquisition. Some wore silver half-moons in their caps with the device "Better to serve Turk than Pope," and they rarely gave quarter to their prisoners. Antwerp was to see their faces again before the end of the year.

The siege of Leyden had so tried Orange's health that rumour was rife in Antwerp in September that he was dead. In October he offered to surrender to the States of Holland and Zealand the authority which he had exercised as Stadtholder, but they added to his power so that he became almost sovereign. Bearing this sign of the States' approval he went to Zealand to plan another enterprise against Antwerp.

Requesens was in the town for a considerable part of the late summer and autumn hunting for money and giving orders which would be necessary if the great fleet was on its way. His detractors said he was there in order that he might throw himself into the castle if things got worse, but in truth he preferred that town to Brussels. Telling the King what was said, he added proudly that if things did get worse he would see the result on the field of battle and not in a castle. He wrote thus when he had just received the news of the relief of Leyden, and it was no idle boast, for he was a brave man and honest.

There was a strong feeling that d'Avila ought to be punished

for not having taken steps to keep the mutineers out of the town, and people were dismayed to see that instead of that the Governor-General went to dine with him at the castle at a great feast at which the most beautiful ladies in Antwerp were present, "leaving their husbands to dine at home."

On the 30th of October, Requesens informed Philip that there was a great number of persons in the town whom every one believed to be heretics, but that they could not be punished because they did not publicly contravene the placards and because the apostolic inquisitors showed little zeal. Sonnius, who was one of the Inquisitors, was getting old and becoming pusillanimous, and the others excused themselves from a more energetic persecution on the ground that it would be unsuited to the times.

At the beginning of Requesens's administration, Goswyn der Varick had become Margrave in the place of Jan van Immerseele, but he did not hunt out the heretics diligently and none were executed in 1574. The Governor-General affected to think that Antwerp had been sufficiently punished for the sins of her people, and certainly no part of the Provinces had of late suffered a greater reverse of fortune. No sooner had plague appeared at Ghent than it spread to Antwerp and in next to no time there were cases in more than one hundred and fifty houses. At any moment the Zealanders might have cut the dikes and have done infinite damage to the country round the town. Mutinous Spanish, Italian, and German soldiers were again robbing the farmers and were talking of falling on Antwerp. It was being said that the only hope was that the whole country might be driven by misery to rise in one body and oust the Spaniards. Then it was thought the town might return to her ancient splendour, for as yet the Zealanders had shown themselves anxious to restore liberty to her and not greedy to retain the benefits they had enjoyed since her decline and which they would lose if her prosperity returned. The cause of the sudden rise of the Zealand ports was not yet appreciated by the Antwerpers, and they failed to see that some part of their commerce would not come up the Scheldt again even when that river was free.

Orange's agents were everywhere in the town, but the first intimation which the ordinary inhabitants had that anything unusual was going on in their midst seems to have been the sudden arrival of Requesens and Colonel Mondragon in the second week in December with twenty companies of Walloons. These troops were sent at once to occupy the streets, to close the gates, to search those entering through the wickets, to visit inns and taverns with the Margrave, and to arrest all strangers who looked like soldiers. All the usual precautions were taken. As the plague still raged the Cell-brothers were deputed to visit infected houses in search of strangers, theirs being the self-

imposed duty of nursing the sick. Only four executions had taken place as the result of the March conspiracy, and no doubt many who had known something about it were still in the town. The plot which had occupied Orange for several weeks had been betrayed to Requesens. Martin Neyen, a secretary in the service of the town, who was a Calvinist and in correspondence with Orange, was its chief, and he worked with Michael vander Wiele, the dean of the Mariners' Guild, and it was said that two thousand soldiers had got into the town disguised and were lodged with burghers, mostly in the breweries in the New Town. Subsequent confessions showed the nature of the arrangements. For instance, three French soldiers recruited near Landrecies were told to look out on arrival for two men who would be near the gate and would hold white gloves, but if they did not see them they were to ask their way to the "Golden Tree" or the "Red Shield" and wait there. They were found at one of these houses by the conspirators and taken to lodge at a confectioner's, where there were a number of arquebusmen. Martin Neyen was a very able and brave man, and sharing with Michael vander Wiele the command of the watch on the river he could send information to Orange and go several times to meet him at Flushing. The conspiracy was to have taken effect about the 13th or 14th of December, but the warning given to Requesens and the precautions taken in the town made its success impossible. On the afternoon of the 12th of December, the citizens saw fifty or sixty Beggars' ships off Austruweel, which lay there all that night; but seeing that nothing was to happen in their favour they sailed away after firing some rounds rather to call attention to themselves than to do damage. On the first appearance of this fleet the greatest excitement had spread through the town. Some kept close the soldiers who lodged with them, but others turned them out into the streets. Of the latter many escaped, as soon as it was dark, through the gap in the wall between the castle and St. George's Gate, but others wandered about pretending to be townsmen, and several were arrested. The search which Requesens had made for such people had not been as carefully conducted as it ought to have been. Four soldiers were caught by the Margrave in the New Town close to a brewery in which some five hundred had been lodged. These were tortured and confessed that they served William of Orange and that many of the chief citizens were in the plot. Michael vander Wiele was arrested and severely tortured, and implicated some of the magistrates and of the officers of the Military Guilds, and particularly Willem Martini, the greffier of the town. A house-to-house search was made, beginning with the magistrates, so that the commons should have the less right to complain. Martini had hidden some of the chief conspirators in his house, including Martin

Neyen, whom his wife concealed for a time in a hole in the chimney, while two others lay in a chest. These men all escaped, but Neyen had first to hide at a baker's, kneading with the baker's boy while the bakehouse was searched. He finally got through the Red Gate at night on the way to Zealand disguised as a gardener. One of the clerks from the brewery was arrested and tortured in the castle until he died, but before his death his jailer had pity on him and allowed his wife to bring him soup. He smoked the bottom of the bowl in which she brought it and wrote messages to Martini, who was related to him by marriage, warning him of what was in store for him. Martini was arrested on the confession of vander Wiele by the Red Rod and taken to the castle and examined by del Rio of the Blood Council, but was released for want of evidence against him. Further arrests were made, including some of the minor town officials, and a number of executions followed even in other parts of the country. The town gates remained closed until the 21st, and two companies of Germans and two of Spaniards were brought in. Vander Wiele was beheaded and quartered on Christmas Eve, at which time three others were executed—one, a heretic as well as a conspirator, was burnt alive. Antwerp was thought by its rulers to be an unusually difficult place in which to hunt for fugitives from justice, for it was full of hiding-places—in ships, in shops, under bridges, in taverns—and there were many ways of getting out of the town. There were executions for this conspiracy even in the spring of 1575, but as they took place in the castle and the Margrave had nothing to do with them we do not know their number.

The failure of this plot was a great blow to Orange, for if he had got possession of Antwerp most of the towns in Brabant and Flanders would have gone over to him. The conduct of the Spanish mutineers had made the inhabitants of the town more inclined to rise than they had been since the image-breaking, and it was said that two-thirds of them favoured Orange. Requesens believed that there was hardly a dinner-table at which a rising was not discussed. The danger in which the town had been placed by these two conspiracies of 1574 led the Spaniards to regard the citizens with greater suspicion than ever. Requesens authorized the formation of a Catholic League, and it was feared that the result would be such a massacre of Protestants as had been seen in Paris. To the distress of the people the German mercenaries were now imitating the bad example set by the Spaniards and taking from peaceful citizens that which was owed them by Philip. They looked into shops and houses when they were lighted up inside and pretended to see traitors conspiring within, and then broke open the doors and pillaged as a punishment. Accusations were made against perfectly innocent people that they had arms in their houses, with the

same consequences. Some of the charges were monstrous, and yet no steps were taken to punish these lawless rascals, who had once had the reputation of being kind and simple fellows. Requesens had undertaken not to keep any Spaniards in Antwerp after the mutiny, but he used the conspiracies as an excuse for breaking his promise.

The Broad Council demanded that the castle should be razed, or at least the wall which formed the town side of it, for, as they put it, no one wanted to open a shop of which another kept the key. Requesens was not likely to comply with such a request, but he renamed the bastions of the castle to obliterate Alva's memory. He was delighted when his dearly loved Jesuits finished their church at the House of Aachen, which was almost where their present church stands. It would hold a large congregation, and the Fathers set up a school to which came the children of the richest parents. From this time onwards until their expulsion the Jesuits were the most important ecclesiastics in Antwerp and shared with the Grey Friars the hatred of the Calvinists.

The peace negotiations which were opened at Breda in March, 1575, came to nothing, and the Antwerpens felt that even if they had terminated happily the Pope would not have allowed Philip to relinquish the task of subduing the heretics, for although, as Requesens wrote,¹ heresy had not been the principal cause of rebellion, but the desire for liberty among the nobles and the hatred of the Spaniards and the taxes and novelties which it had been sought to introduce into the country, yet now (April, 1575) the principal quarrel lay in the exercise of the new religion. As for Holland and Zeeland, the Catholic religion had been there stamped out; but Brabant was still mainly Catholic.

On the 12th of June, 1575, Orange married Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier. Catholics regarded the marriage with horror, for his second wife, Anne of Saxony, was still alive, and the validity of his divorce from her was, of course, not admitted by them. Also, Charlotte was a nun turned heretic, who had run away from her convent at Jouarre. Queen Elizabeth feared that the Prince would now incline towards the French again through this marriage, although his wife was far from being in favour at the French Court. A few days before the wedding Elizabeth, at Philip's request, forbade her realm to all who were leaders of his rebels, and Orange replied by breaking off commercial relations with her. When the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland was offered to Elizabeth in this year she played for time, and it was then offered to Henry III (1576). The offer to Elizabeth was made in the hope of getting supplies of munitions and powder from England. Requesens summoned the States-General of the "obedient" Provinces to meet at Antwerp in June, 1575, and demanded large sums,

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. III, p. 311.

but they only suggested taxing the clergy. At this time Philip permitted the rate of interest payable by the town of Antwerp on loans to be reduced, a course which it was thought was taken on the advice of the Spaniard, Jerome de Roda, on whom Requesens much relied and who hated the Antwerpers almost as much as they hated him. Six and a quarter per cent was the interest which the town was bound to pay on Perpetual Annuities and twelve and a half on Life Annuities. By the licence of Philip, dated the 15th of July, 1575, the town was permitted to reduce the interest on the former to five per cent, and that on the latter to ten per cent. This was one of Requesens's greatest follies, and the town lost all credit and became in that like the King. Four thousand persons in Antwerp were said to be losers, and some of them threatened to go away and capture all who came out of the town. They cried out against the sums spent on the fortifications, the new Town House, the House of the Easterlings and the castle. By the end of August, Gand and Bruges were seizing all money owing from their citizens to those of Antwerp and distributing it to the losers over the Annuities. Capitalists would no longer lend and invested their money in land.

Without pay for the troops it was unlikely that Requesens would bring the campaign in Zealand to a successful conclusion, and unless he conquered those islands he could not crush the Beggars, and if the waterways were not speedily cleared of these enemies Antwerp would be ruined. Taking one case out of many, we find that the famous firm of Manlich, who then did most of their business at Marseilles, lost a ship laden with fifty thousand guildens' worth of pepper to the Beggars in the Channel and this catastrophe did much to hasten the failure of the firm. Requesens left Antwerp on the 17th of September to superintend the expedition which Mondragon led to the capture of the island of Schouwen, leaving Berlaymont in charge, for Champagny and Count Hannibal, the colonel of the Germans in garrison, agreed together badly. The loyalist fleet now lay at Bergen-op-Zoom, and after sailing two or three times in the vain hope of landing men on Duyveland, it gave some help to Mondragon's force in landing on Schouwen. This success gave Requesens Brouwershaven, which would be a port for the great fleet if it came from Spain. Requesens then formed the siege of Zierikzee, and at the end of October surgeons and camp-followers were summoned from Antwerp to join the army there, for many had been wounded. Ciappin Vitelli had been injured by a fall from his horse and died on board ship on his way back to Antwerp.¹

¹ Ciappin Vitelli was Marquis of Cetone and had long served in Philip's armies. He was once so fat that he had to suspend his stomach from his neck by a bandage, and a piece had to be cut out of the dinner-table to accommodate him. Nevertheless, he reduced himself to such an extent that his skin appeared to serve him as a mantle. He was a huge eater and was regarded as an atheist.

At the beginning of December, Requesens had twenty-four vessels at Antwerp, forty at Amsterdam, twenty in Friesland, and four or five at Dunkirk, mostly small, badly manned, and ill-equipped. Orange had fifty in Waterland, forty in Holland, and forty in Zealand, all large and splendidly prepared, besides a number not in commission. His sailors were well and punctually paid, though patriotism rather than profit led them into action; but Requesens's men were owed four or five months' pay and were reluctant to fight without it. A fleet of twenty-four brigantines, and four smaller vessels from Spain reached Dunkirk, and that was all of the armada, the rest having been battered to pieces on the voyage, and Requesens told Philip that it would cost more to do the necessary refitting of these than it would have to equip the whole armada in the Netherlands. In the ships came six hundred and fifty sailors and four hundred and thirty soldiers—"very sorry fellows."

Some money was voted by the Broad Council as Antwerp's share of what Brabant had granted, but only on condition that the sums which had been borrowed to pay the mutineers were repaid out of it and that no more soldiers should be put into the town. Every nerve was strained to strengthen the fleet at Antwerp, and sea-captains and ships' carpenters were brought overland from Genoa and galleys were built.

On Christmas Eve, Requesens was told at Antwerp that his fleet had suffered heavily at Zierikzee. He was greatly upset as he could not replace the ships lost or the sailors, and as a result of the news he became ill, and during the last three months of his life nothing occurred in Antwerp worthy of being recorded. Naval and military preparations and obtaining the Pardon and restoring the town's constitution had not been the only steps he had taken to restore the old order. Up to the time of the publication of the Pardon his repression of the heretics had not amounted to great persecution, but after it he treated them with severity, and when his inability to hold his own had impressed itself on him, and the plots to seize Antwerp had come to light he resorted to persecution. He agreed with Champagney that the five parish churches of Antwerp, the Cathedral—St. Walburga's, St. James's, St. George's, and St. Andrew's—were insufficient for twelve thousand families and that there were too few preachers. He planned to set up schools in the six monasteries—St. Michael's, St. Bernard's, the Grey Friars', the Dominicans', the Carmelites', and the Boggaerds'. To these schools he would have sent the sons of poor parents every Sunday and feast day afternoon, the teaching to be done by the monks and to consist of instruction in the Christian doctrines and the catechism. He would also have established week-day schools in each parish for secular instruction. He would in like manner have set up Sunday schools for girls in the nunneries. He saw that the liberty of

conscience which was allowed to strangers had encouraged the growth of heresy ; its use being, of course, chiefly among the Protestant English, Easterlings, and Germans, who were not called on to give account of how they lived or what they believed in, provided they did not exercise their religion and did not cause scandal. Probably not one-tenth of the foreigners were Catholics at this time and, Requesens thought, hardly one third of the native population. The placards only provided punishment for outward and pertinacious acts and the apostolic inquisitors and the bishops—who were inquisitors in ordinary—were not very energetic just now. Catholic sermons could be heard at several places, notably at the Jesuits', in Italian and Spanish, but Flemish was the only other language in which the clergy preached, although there were representatives of so many different nations in the town. A French Catholic could not hear a sermon in his own language. Requesens hoped the three Mendicant orders in Antwerp—the Grey Friars, the Dominicans, and the Carmelites—would send for good preachers of their orders, who could speak several languages.

One can hardly reckon those who were hanged for complicity in the two plots of 1574 as having suffered for heresy, but one Calvinist was burnt at the time the chief conspirators were executed. His particular offence was that he had attended secret meetings and had buried the dead of his religion secretly at night according to those rites, and he was the only heretic put to death in the town in 1574. The conspiracy of December convinced Requesens that the Pardon had not brought forth the good fruit expected of it, and he pursued heretics more hotly in 1575.

One Anabaptist was burnt on the 21st of January, four on the 22nd of May, one on the 7th of October, two on the 16th of December, and two on the 28th of January, 1576. Sometimes the fate of these poor people seems to have been less deserved than such a penalty had often been in the times of the worst persecution ; for instance, a servant-girl was burnt for writing a few words of encouragement to her master when he was in prison for heresy ; but Requesens was irritated by the conspiracies. He had restored the constitution to the town and had effected a respect for the chief privileges ; but he found he had to resort to a more arbitrary course. A certain number of citizens regretted having had anything to do with heresy and asked formally for forgiveness at the Town House. Sometimes the lesson to be learnt from such a return to orthodoxy was impressed in a dramatic manner, as when a girl who had been an Anabaptist was examined in the cathedral by the bishop before a great crowd of people and then rebaptized. The heretics in the town were, of course, far fewer than they had been in 1566 and 1567, for all Requesens might fear to the contrary, for

thousands had fled, but those who remained caused surprise by attending their meetings more regularly than the Catholics went to church. The Bishop was easily frightened and shared the Governor-General's opinion that not more than one-third of the inhabitants remained in the old faith ; indeed, he was the chief supporter of such a pessimistic view. The truth was that many who remained Catholic refrained from going to the churches because their doing so seemed to ally them with the Spaniards and with Philip's cause.

Such men as these, who were moved by patriotic feelings, were at the moment in a quandary, for Orange's marriage with Charlotte de Bourbon was repulsive to them as Catholics. The falling off in attendance at Holy Communion was such that from an average of twenty-two thousand in the year at the cathedral it fell to nine thousand in 1574

Just before his illness began Requesens was described as greatly changed in appearance. There was a fierceness in his expression not hitherto observed and his eyes were sunken. The loss of his ships depressed him, and he did all he could to keep back news of the disaster from Philip ; but Orange took care to get it spread broadcast through England, France, and Spain. The siege of Zierikzee did not progress satisfactorily, and this also depressed the Governor-General, and he was troubled by the knowledge that anarchy would follow his death, if it was sudden, for there was no one in the country who could fill his office.

He died on the 5th of March, 1576.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SPANISH FURY

THE year 1576, which was to see the cruelty of the Spaniards at its worst, was the first to begin in January, in accordance with Philip's ordinance published by Requesens in the preceding summer.

It was a period of great trial to Champagney, who for four months of it was in extreme peril. The long-standing hatred which he and d'Avila bore each other had not abated since his return to the town after the mutiny; indeed, he got on badly with all the Spanish, Italian, and German officers, excepting Colonel Oberstein. He hated Count Hannibal d'Altemps, and long struggled to get Requesens to disband the mutinous Germans he commanded, which led that colonel to assert that his aim was to get rid of the garrison and hand the town over to Orange. He was in England for some weeks of the spring of this year on a mission to persuade Elizabeth to give no support or encouragement to Orange.

Shrovetide mummary, the wearing of masks, and so on, was forbidden this year, and cake-sellers and their kind were forbidden to cry their wares through the streets when they were in darkness, for the times were felt to be out of joint. Requesens had told the States of Brabant, the Knights of the Fleece, and the Governors of Provinces that the King had now spent forty-two million ducats on the war, most of which had been sent from Spain, and that there was no more to follow. The repudiation of his debts to the Genoese and Spanish merchants had so injured Philip's credit that he could only borrow with the greatest difficulty—indeed, his treatment of the merchants had ruined them all in Spain, excepting the Fuggers—so that Requesens tried to impress on his hearers that extensive mutinies were to be expected if generous Aids were not given to provide pay for the troops. He had not appointed anyone to fill his office in the event of his death, and when it occurred, the Government of the country was carried on by the Council of State—the Duke of Arschot, Baron Berlaymont, President Viglius, d'Assonleville, and other Netherlanders, the only Spaniard being Jerome de Roda. Philip neither gave instructions to the Council of State nor answered their letters, but corresponded secretly with Roda, thus setting him above the rest.

Count Hannibal had been in command of the garrison of

Antwerp during Champagney's absence in London and usurped the Governorship of the town, designing to force from the inhabitants the arrears of pay due to his Germans. Champagney returned from England in April, but the Count refused to hand the Governorship over to him pending the appointment of Requesens's successor. The Council of State therefore kept Champagney at Brussels on the pretext of his being still occupied with the negotiations with Elizabeth.

Quite a stir was caused in March when Lucretia, the daughter of Carlo Affaitadi of Antwerp, was captured by the Beggars in an English ship in the Channel on her way to England to be married to the ambassador of the King of Portugal. She was not allowed to resume her journey for some weeks in spite of Elizabeth's protests, and such an incident naturally created bad feeling between the Queen and Orange.

In April about one hundred Englishmen—some of gentle birth—who were on their way to serve under Orange were captured by Spanish ships near Brouwershaven, and sent to the galleys or to be imprisoned at Antwerp.

In view of what happened in November, through Philip's want of money, we can welcome some remarks by Provost Morillon in letters to Granvelle in May about the financial outlook in the Provinces. He wrote of the incredible rise in the value of real property and the fall in annuities charged on the domains of Philip or of any of the towns, such investments being absolutely discredited by the King's shortcomings and by the reduction by Antwerp of the rate of interest. It was, wrote the Provost, evil counsel which had been given to the King, and his credit and that of the States-General and of the towns had been desperately wounded. Treasurer Schetz found he could not borrow a sou at Antwerp on the credit of the members of the Council of State, the Privy Council, or the Council of Finance. Every one was now putting his money into land. The rentiers sued the magistrates of Antwerp for the balance of interest, and the action was tried by the Council of Brabant on the 23rd of May, judgment being given in favour of the plaintiffs.

On Corpus Christi Day, after the Procession, Count Hannibal's men suddenly mutinied, and in the riot which followed one burgher was killed and several injured. Two dalders were given to each soldier and a promise that the States would do something for them, and they were appeased. That night the Beggars burnt the village of Austruweel and carried off two hundred oxen and one hundred horses, and on the next day seventeen of their vessels chased four King's ships past Antwerp, going right under the river wall at the north end of the town.

But a very great loss befell the Beggars in this summer. Louis Boisot was trying to help Zierikzee when he was drowned; he was succeeded as Admiral by Bloys de Treslong.

It was difficult for the Council of State to find a way of getting Champagnay back into Antwerp and to get rid of Count Hannibal and his men. The Antwerpens were being eaten up by these Germans, who required and got quantities of wine and beer, and by Spanish captains and gentlemen who had been lodged in the town while Requesens held Court and now refused to go and retained their lodgings as if the Governor-General was still there, at great cost to the townspeople. The Council of State decided that these courtiers must go to inns and that the mercenaries must be paid off.

The dispute between Champagnay and Count Hannibal was allowed to take its course, and it was hoped that in time some message from the King would settle which of the two was to be chief in Antwerp ; but day followed day without it.

Zierikzee, on the island of Schouwen, surrendered to Mondragon on the 29th of June, in spite of Orange's efforts to save it. At this moment Orange's prospects looked very gloomy : Elizabeth had become hostile to him, France would not promise help, the Southern Provinces were inclined to submit to Philip, and many individuals, even in Holland and Zealand, were induced by the Beggars' ill-success to advocate a general reconciliation. But all this was suddenly changed by a mutiny which grew serious among Colonel Mondragon's Spaniards as soon as they had taken Zierikzee. They seized Mondragon himself and abandoning Schouwen marched into Brabant, plundering as they went. They threatened Antwerp and some of the larger towns and occupied Alost. Most of Count Hannibal's Germans had been paid off by this time, and on their departure Champagnay had brought into the town to replace them eight companies of Count Otto Oberstein's mercenaries of the same nation, and when the mutineers passed through Herenthals he prepared to hold Antwerp with their assistance. He placed a guard each evening at the entrances to the streets which led from the castle, and thereupon its Spanish garrison pretended they were being besieged. He had little doubt that history would repeat itself and that eventually the mutineers would join the Spaniards in the castle and that d'Avila would take their part and that they would, this time, plunder Antwerp. D'Avila, in fact, soon sent powder and supplies to Alost.

The Council of State had now so little means of satisfying the mutineers that they wrote to Champagnay saying that they had heard that the Bishop of Antwerp, who had just died, had left a considerable sum of ready money and asking him—if that was so—to find out whether it could be made use of. The charge was afterwards brought against the Council of State by Requesens's successor that they had allowed Spaniards to die of hunger on Schouwen, while they were paying off Count Hannibal's men, and he said that they were therefore responsible for

the mutiny. Certainly they could have prevented it if they had been willing to give the town of Zierikzee over to be plundered; but Treasurer Schetz could raise no more money than he did in Antwerp, nor was there any hope of his getting it while these unpaid Germans were in the town. To get rid of them was therefore the first care. The Spanish mutineers at Alost ravaged the country, and on the 27th of July the Council of State in Philip's name made them outlaws. Sancho d'Avila and the other Spanish officers interpreted this as a move against all Spanish soldiers, and the former sent more supplies to the mutineers at Alost, whom it was his duty to bring back to discipline. Champagny would not publish the Council's edict in Antwerp, for fear that the mutineers or their comrades would avenge themselves on the inhabitants. The Spanish civilians feared they would be massacred—indeed, the houses of many at Brussels were sacked—and some fled to Antwerp Castle. In August the States-General ordered the enrolment of troops and called the peasants to arms to oppose the parties of Spanish cavalry which pillaged their homesteads. D'Avila summoned the German colonels Polwiller and Frondsberger to Antwerp to plan how they might best serve the King, and they decided on a complete concentration of their men on the villages round Antwerp. This move was partly for their mutual protection and partly to prevent the Council of State seizing Antwerp Castle. In the course of this movement of troops there was a sharp fight on the Flemish Headland, over the river from Antwerp, between some Spanish mounted harquebusmen on their way to cross the Scheldt to the town, and a band of rustics under the bailiff, but the guns of the castle and the Spanish guardship dispersed the undrilled mob, and the bailiff and a hundred who followed him were killed.

The Council of State complained of d'Avila's thus moving troops from their proper garrisons without orders from Count Mansfeld, whom they had made commander-in-chief. After a meeting between the members of the Council of State and the Spanish and German officers at Willebroeck, Alonzo de Vargas, Jerome de Roda, Julian Romero and other Spaniards, and the German colonels went to Antwerp and the councillors returned to Brussels. These chiefs of the Spaniards now planned how they might get possession of Antwerp and at the same time alleged that the Council of State was not a free agent at Brussels, being at the mercy of the populace, and that it might be necessary to march and deliver it. The artillery in Antwerp Castle was turned towards the town and warlike preparations were made. The officers conferred daily in the castle, in Colonel Frondsberger's lodging in the Welsers' house in what is now the Place Verte, and elsewhere, but Champagny was not invited to join them.

On the 8th of August, the Council of State wrote to the German colonels remonstrating with them for associating with d'Avila

and those who aided the mutineers. Baron Polwiller had been in Philip's service for twenty years, Frondsberger was a famous soldier, and Fugger was a member of the great family of bankers. Their regiments and that of Count Otto Oberstein had been raised for Alva in Germany when Louis of Nassau laid siege to Mons. By the end of August the Beggars were coming up daily in ships within gunshot of the town and landing to pillage and burn houses and carry off cattle ; and to prevent this some more companies of Oberstein's regiment were moved to Antwerp and the neighbourhood from Bois-le-Duc and Maastricht.

The disposition of the States' troops secured to them Vilvoorde, Malines, the Castle of Cantecroy, the fortified Abbey of St. Bernard, and the Castle of Rupelmonde, so that the Spaniards in Antwerp Castle conceived that they were besieged, and every Spaniard, soldier or civilian, felt he was in a hostile country with every man's hand against him. The Spanish soldiers knew that their presence was now the great obstacle to peace and that a demand for their departure, paid or unpaid, would confront the new Governor-General when he arrived and that it would be endorsed by Catholics and Protestants alike. They saw that since the mutineers had entered Brabant, work and business had almost ceased, and that farmers had sold their cows to buy firearms. The striking event which took place on the 4th of September was not likely to allay their fears for their security. On that day the Council of State was arrested at Brussels by Orange's partisans, who stated that they acted because its members intended to hand over that town to the Spaniards.

After this, Jerome de Roda, who had escaped being arrested with the rest of the Council, took upon himself to govern the country from Antwerp Castle promising the mutineers that the town should find their pay. It was his firm conviction that Champagney was not loyal to Philip, that he and Oberstein were in league, and that both were of the party which had imprisoned the Council of State ; and since they had allowed the citizens to arm, he feared they had designs on the castle.

News from Brussels was anxiously awaited by every one, and when a well-known citizen returned from that town, the Provost Marshal, Camargo, greeted him outside Oberstein's house, where he had dined, walked with him for a little way, and then arrested him and took him up to the castle to be examined. The people, aghast at such a defiance of the town's privileges, ran to Oberstein and complained, and he sent and overtook Camargo before he had reached the castle. It was humiliating and inconvenient to have the citizen taken out of his hands, and so the Provost Marshal shut him into one of the towers on the wall near which they happened to be ; but the people brought ladders and climbed into the upper windows and effected a rescue. One of the Provost's men was left dead

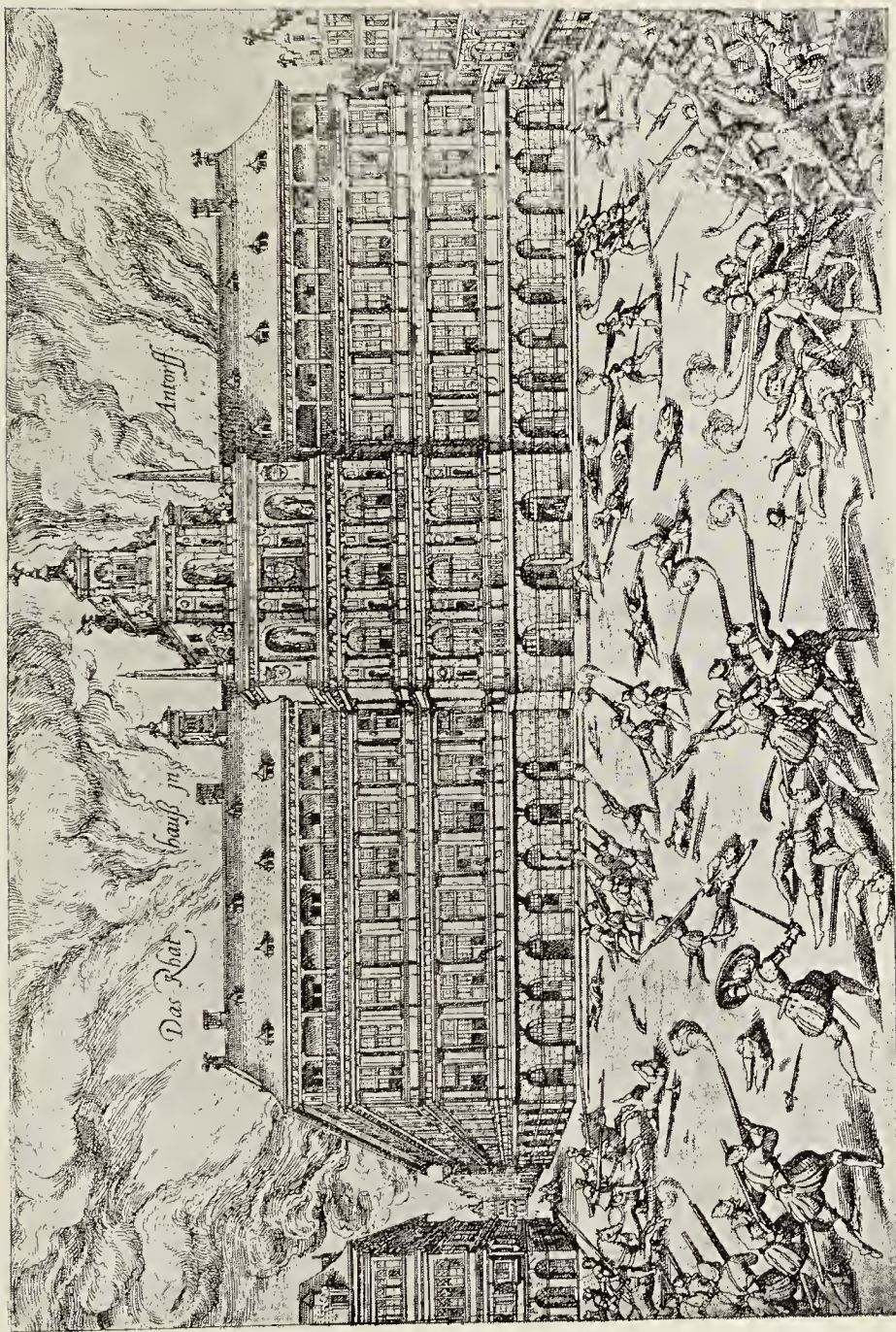
on the ground and several were wounded, including Camargo himself, whom the Antwerpens led to Oberstein's house, where he was detained until the morning, when he was sent back to the castle. Evidently some of the townspeople were not in a frame of mind which would make them submit to all insults offered them, and one wishes they had all been of but one thought. The Spaniards became more and more alarmed at their position and seized Maastricht, thus securing the road to Germany. They also got possession of Lierre, Vilvoorde (which cut Antwerp off from Brussels), and the Abbey of St. Bernard, retaining Antwerp as their base. They seized the bridge between Antwerp and Malines, which crossed the river at Duffel.

On the 24th of September, soldiers went from the castle, crossed the river at Kiel, and began to build a fort on the Flemish Headland, opposite the town, hoping by it to prevent Orange's fleet coming up. They had heard of a design of the rebels to build a fort there themselves to support their fleet and to prevent victuals reaching the castle from Flanders, and to prevent the Spaniards in Antwerp Castle going to the help of Ghent Castle, which the States were now besieging.

Into the fort which the Spaniards built on the Headland d'Avila put four hundred men. Altogether there were not more than six thousand Spanish or Italian soldiers in the whole Provinces, and although some German companies seemed likely to join them against the States, yet those under Oberstein and the Walloons were mostly loyal, and all the Provinces excepting Luxemburg were opposed to the mutineers and those who were prepared to aid them. Brabant was the only province in which they could maintain themselves, and there only so long as they retained Antwerp Castle, and they would have to hold out until their orders came from Spain.

A few days after the arrest of the Council of State the States of Brabant convened a meeting of the States-General and proceeded, under Arschot, who had been released, to carry on the government of the country. They made plans for recruiting an army of Netherlanders for Philip's service and to oppose his mutinous Spaniards, and they continued the attempts to take Ghent Castle. In Roda's opinion the magistrates of Antwerp were pretending to be neutral, but were, in fact, as much against him and the Spaniards as were their colleagues in other towns, and in this he was probably right.

On the 25th of September, there was a tumult against the Jesuits, whose position in the town had been much weakened by the death of their patron, Requesens. Suspicion rushed to a head when an Englishman who was hiring a porter to carry a barrel of gunpowder to his shop or house was heard mentioning the Jesuits. Any reference to them when gunpowder was at hand was enough to spread the worst of rumours.



THE SPANISH FURY IN FRONT OF THE TOWN HOUSE
FROM AN OLD PRINT.

Champagney and Oberstein, who commanded all troops in the town itself, had reason to believe that a certain William Cotton and other Englishmen had plotted to seize the New Town and to hand it over to Roda and the Spaniards in the castle, and they had made half a dozen arrests. This had associated the English with the Jesuits in the minds of the people. It was said there were Englishmen and weapons concealed in the House of Aachen, and a mob five hundred strong, armed with swords and daggers, collected round it, and for three hours stood in a heavy rain beating on the door-bell. It was dinner time and it was the custom of the Fathers then to shut their doors. When, after the dinner hour, the doors were not opened some got a pole and set themselves to break it down, while others got straw intending to burn their way in. The magistrates sent down Oberstein with some of his Germans and Champagney and the Margrave ordered that the mob should be dispersed. A search revealed no gunpowder in the house, but a guard was posted during the rest of the week. This tumult was quickly followed by another caused by a report that the Jesuits, the Grey Friars, and other ecclesiastics were plotting a massacre of Protestants, and it was said that six thousand persons left the town and slept in the fields on the night which was supposed to be the one chosen. As a result of these riots and commotions the Military Guilds were kept under arms, and Oberstein persuaded Roda to send for four companies of Germans who had served under Count Hannibal, but had not been disbanded with the rest and were now commanded by van Ende.

Roda wrote to ask Philip to get help for the Spanish soldiers in the Provinces from Eric of Brunswick and other German princes, pointing out that if they lost Ghent Castle they would be shut up in the castles of Antwerp and Lierre. As yet they held these and those of Valenciennes and Utrecht, but they could not hold Valenciennes if they lost Ghent. It was with great difficulty that Antwerp Castle got supplies from Flanders, for the Beggars landed from their ships and captured the carts.

Added to these troubles of the Spaniards was the knowledge that peace negotiations were going on at Ghent between the States of the Southern Provinces on the one side, and the Prince of Orange and the States of the Northern Provinces on the other.

There was not a great plenty of victuals in the town, for the new Spanish fort on the Flemish Headland cut it off from Flanders, the German garrison at Termonde—which sympathized with the mutineers—prevented anything coming down the Scheldt from Ghent, the castle controlled the road from Malines, the bridges at Duffel and Walem were destroyed, and Spanish and Albanian cavalry harried the farmers and cut the roads to Lierre and Herenthals; but the Zealand fleet was able to provision it on more than one occasion. Therefore the Zealand fleet was felt

to be Antwerp's greatest friend, and when it came up to Lillo many of the inhabitants went down and fraternized with the crews, and this filled the Spaniards in the castle with suspicion and anger. It was obvious that the Antwerpers, whether Catholic or Protestant, would go over to Orange when a convenient moment came. The Spaniards saw that even Champagney and Oberstein, who both held Philip's commission, no longer regarded the fleet as an enemy.

On the 20th of October, the Spaniards plundered Maastricht and massacred the inhabitants, and this set the States planning how to save the town of Antwerp from the Spaniards in its castle.

There were nine companies of Germans in Antwerp under Oberstein, and this was the only force on which the townspeople could rely, unless it were that of their own right arms. These mercenaries were paid by the town up to the 5th of October, and it seemed as if it would be fairly safe to trust them in the event of an attack from the castle ; but on the 26th, some of the regiment who had been left at Maastricht made their way to Antwerp to demand like treatment and were in mutiny for four days. They were then paid by the town as their comrades had been, but they did not remain loyal to the States and their colonel. Fugger, Frondsberger, and Polwiller sided openly with the Spaniards, asserting, of course, that in so doing they would please the King. Champagney was not entirely satisfied that it was safe to trust Oberstein, his suspicions being aroused mainly by his lodging with Fugger. But whereas Oberstein spent most of his time in the town, the other colonels were almost always with the Spaniards in the castle. Colonel van Ende was not a German, but a Brabanter, and yet, sad to relate, was more treacherous than the foreigners. He had promised his men, who had learnt well how to mutiny when Hannibal commanded them, that they should take what was owing to them in pay out of the townspeople, and so their coming promised disaster from the first. His regiment lay in the town with Oberstein's.

While the companies of the latter, which had arrived from Maastricht, were in mutiny, as stated above, Polwiller and Fugger, at Roda's instigation, determined to get their colonel and van Ende to bind themselves to an agreement contrary to their duty. If the Spaniards in the castle could win these two colonels over to their party Antwerp was theirs ! Oberstein was a weak man who wished to do his duty, but the smallest twine would lead him, and he was usually too drunk to be quite certain as to which way duty lay. He was much moved when Fugger and Polwiller told him that the mutineers were marching on the town from Alost, as he desired to avoid doing anything which might provoke a massacre of the inhabitants. So he and van Ende, the latter with great pleasure, signed an agreement with those in the castle on the 29th of October,

by which they agreed to disarm the townspeople and take their weapons to the castle, and to admit no more Government troops into the town. On their part those in the castle promised not to open their gates to any mutineers. Van Ende, by the agreement, was to hold the New Town, where the vessels and artillery lay, and Oberstein was to take charge of the rest. Probably Oberstein was drunk when he signed the agreement. He told Champagny all about it at once, and tried to excuse himself, saying he had not fully understood it, as it was in Spanish.

The States were sending five thousand Walloon infantry and twelve hundred cavalry under the Marquis de Havré, the Duke of Arscho't's brother, and Orange ordered fourteen companies of his men to be ready to help the town. There was therefore a large force to resist the handful of Spaniards, but if they were few their superior discipline and their better knowledge of arms gave them victory over the bands of States' troops, even when vastly outnumbered, and the States' leaders realized that only a large body of their best levies would be able to traverse Brabant and enter Antwerp.

The States' troops arrived at Borgerhout on the 2nd of November. Most of the Walloons were old soldiers of Philip's regiments, but they had only just rejoined the colours; the cavalry consisted of gentlemen volunteers rather than of such men as usually composed the Bands of Ordonnance. Philip of Egmont, son of the Egmont executed with Horn, commanded the infantry. Orange's companies did not approach the town. Arriving at two o'clock in the afternoon, Havré's men expected to be admitted to the town immediately, but Champagny and Oberstein thought that they had already enough troops in the town to hold in check the two hundred Spaniards in the castle, and that if more came in an excuse would thereby be given to the Spaniards to allege a breach of the agreement made with Oberstein and that they would summon the mutineers from Alost to the castle. In this fear the two leaders were supported by the magistrates, and Champagny tried to persuade the commanders to remain outside the town at Margravelei, to lie between the castle and reinforcements which might come from Lierre, Maastricht, and Alost.

Meanwhile another attempt was made by the Spaniards to corrupt Oberstein's regiment. Fugger, Polwiller, and Frondsberger came down among the men when Oberstein was present, and had almost won them to mutiny, when they suddenly changed their minds and chased their would-be seducers back into the castle; but this attempt proved that it would be necessary to admit the States' troops to counteract any mutiny which might appear among the Germans. News was brought that Roda was communicating with Alost, and Oberstein, con-

vinced of his folly in trusting the other German colonels, determined to repudiate the agreement he had entered into with them.

Soon after the first appearance of the States' troops, the magistrates, on Champagny's advice, had ordered a rampart and ditch to be made from St. George's Gate to the Kroonenberg Gate to cut the castle off from the town, and the engineer, Abraham Andriessens, was put in charge. Twelve thousand citizens of all sorts carried the work to the height of a pike in twenty-four hours, in spite of cannon-shots from the castle.

The Marquis de Havré and the States' troops entered by the Red Gate on Saturday the 3rd of November, and marched at once to occupy the heads of the streets which led to the esplanade of the castle, where they began to entrench themselves and fortify the buildings with sacks of wool, of hops, of pastel, and with barrels full of earth, making all the while a great noise by shouting and beating drums. During the night some of them got drunk and pillaged the houses of the Spanish civilians, who had fled to the castle, and others went to the Jesuits' house and threatened to kill the porter if he did not let them in to seize the plunder which the Fathers were supposed to have concealed within. They billeted themselves in the best houses, and as there was no Provost Marshal in the army, Champagny had to hunt them out with a rapier, and had great difficulty in saving the lives of some Spaniards lying in the Hospital. The orders given to Havré had been to get possession of the town and then capture the castle; but the arrival of so many troops and the knowledge that Orange had more to send, and that his fleet was near at hand, disposed Jerome de Roda and Sancho d'Avila to fall at once on the town and on the States' army within it—to fight a battle, as they put it, for to them the States and the town were Philip's enemies.

The entry of the States' troops was treated as a *casus belli* by the castle, just as Champagny foresaw it would be, and it was the signal for a bombardment of the town. In the afternoon Captain Gaspar Ortis led a party of Spaniards in a sortie and set fire to a house in Cloister Street, adjoining the Kroonenburg Gate, before he was driven back. During the night the Walloons strengthened their position, but they were short of officers and their work was badly done. No proper watch was kept, the nearest guard-room being on the Market Place. Champagny was very diligent and examined every part of the fortifications during the night and set some of the most reliable magistrates to encourage the men at work on them; but it was difficult to get even these to stay at their posts, and most of the Walloon officers were useless. The Germans had been drawn back towards High Street and the States' cavalry were just inside the chief gates. The night was clear and moonlight, and those

working on the rampart made such good targets that part of the work was left to be done during darker hours.

Early in the morning a council of war was held at Oberstein's lodging. Havré had brought with him an intercepted letter written by Roda to the mutineers at Alost telling them to come over to the castle, and it was found that a similar message had been sent to the garrisons at Lierre and Maastricht. The commanders of the States' army had sent out no cavalry to reconnoitre, and the news, which was received on the Sunday morning the 4th of November, that reinforcements had actually entered the castle came as a surprise. The men from Lierre and Maastricht met the two thousand mutineers from Alost where the Malines road meets that from Lierre. The latter had left Alost at three o'clock in the morning to march the twenty-five miles, wearing oak-leaves in their caps in sign of victory. These reinforcements entered the castle together on the far side.

Champagney had been right in urging that the States' troops should remain outside the town to prevent reinforcements reaching the castle, for those in the town were capable of dealing with the small garrison if it was unaided, and the Spaniards would have been deprived of an excuse for admitting reinforcements and for attacking the town. A regiment of foot and five hundred horse at Willebroeck could have prevented the men from Alost crossing the Scheldt and the subsequent tragedy would not have been played. As it turned out the Walloons, who formed the greater part of the States' army, were nothing but an embarrassment to the defence of the town. Before their arrival Champagney had felt fairly safe with Oberstein's nine companies of Germans, who were well seasoned, well disciplined, and well officered, and he felt he himself was popular with the men and that his orders would be carried out. All their officers had known their places and duty, but all was disarranged by the arrival in the town of Havré's men.

The mutineers at once prepared for battle; so eager were they that they would not take more refreshment than a glass of wine.

The Spaniards afterwards put forward the case that they had concentrated thus on Antwerp—mutineers and all—for their safety and to keep the castle for the King, since it was threatened by the States' troops. Roda said that the loss of Maastricht or Antwerp would have been followed by that of all the Provinces, and in his view it was a battle which was about to take place, fought for Philip, but he could not explain how it was that soldiers in mutiny were so anxious to take part in such a battle if it was not that they hoped to acquire a vast quantity of spoil. The taking of such spoil might well lead to a terrible massacre.

The total number now in the castle was about five thousand foot and five hundred horse. In the town the States had about

eight thousand troops and there were quite twenty thousand *poorters* who could have fought, but unfortunately so many were neither armed nor drilled. Roda declared afterwards that he had given orders that no religious or private houses should be pillaged and no civilians killed, but the mutineers had been summoned from Alost with the expectation in them of getting their arrears of pay by some means from the townsmen. They had been promised that they should not be called on to desert their Electo until their claims were satisfied.

After the new-comers had refreshed themselves they knelt in prayer, and then d'Avila gave the signal and they burst from the castle followed by the sutlers carrying torches and straw to kindle fires, and leaving hardly a man behind. They ran into the town by different ways—by Cloister Street, by the Blydenhoek, at the end of the modern rue Nationale, and by Beguines' Street. Julian Romero crept with a party round St. George's Church. Egmont's Walloons in Cloister Street made a poor fight in front of St. Michael's against the Spanish veterans and were soon in flight, many taking refuge with their officers in the abbey.

The Spanish infantry ran along the ways which led to the centre of the town to find that the fine resistance was to be offered by Oberstein's Germans, just as Champagne had expected.

Alonzo de Vargas with his cavalry had left the castle and got into the town by St. George's Gate, where four companies of van Ende's cavalry surrendered on the spot, and reaching the Meer they broke up into parties and scoured the town.

Joan Navarresse, the Electo of the Alost mutineers, was killed as he led his men over the barrier bearing on high a standard having on one side Christ crucified and on the other the Virgin Mary. As the Spaniards swept through the town they were opposed at intervals by a few of the Walloons and by the Germans, and good stands were made at the Bourse, on the Meer Bridge, and on the Meer; but the bravest defence of all was round the Town House on the great Market Place, for from the windows of the Town House, the Guild houses and merchants' houses the harquebusmen of the Military Guilds fired on every Spaniard who appeared. Among those who fell in the Market Place was a popular Spanish officer, and in revenge his men set fire to the Town House as soon as they could get close to it. Soon there was a rout of soldiers along the streets leading to the New Town, where hundreds ran to ships and boats. If a town was taken by storm, as the Spaniards claimed Antwerp to have been, it was usually handed over to the soldiers to be plundered.

Champagne had not had time, at the last moment, to arm the townsmen, and excepting those who fell round the Market Place

not many of them were killed in action, but some had been mustered on the Ox Market, close to the Kipdorp Gate, and at the English Bourse, and with the Germans there they made a stout resistance. It had been Champagney's intention to lead these men himself, and he thought that theirs would be the best resistance of all; but after he had spent some time trying to rally Walloons and Germans, he found his road to them was cut, so he resolved to try to hold the New Town with the Germans he expected to find in it, but all was lost by the time he reached the Easterlings' House. He had done all a brave man could, so he made his way, with Havré, who had not done any great service to the town by coming to it, out of the Mud Gate to Orange's fleet. Oberstein would have followed them, but he missed his footing when getting into a boat in the New Town and was dragged down by the weight of his armour and drowned. Count Egmont and a number of other officers were captured by the Spaniards.

The attacking force was composed of two hundred Spaniards from the castle, two thousand mutineers from Alost, five hundred Spaniards from Lierre under Julian Romero, a thousand Spanish, Italian, and Burgundian light horse under Vargas, and six companies of Germans (including some of Oberstein's regiment, who were compelled to join); in all about five thousand, and they were opposed by about eight thousand States' troops. Of the former not more than two or three hundred were killed and about the same number were wounded; but of the defenders two thousand five hundred corpses were counted in the streets, and hundreds more were drowned or burnt, so that the total has been put at six or seven thousand, and the victory was won in three hours. For the next three days the town was given over to pillage, murder, and rape. The Spaniards killed every Walloon soldier they caught, and in cold blood they cut the throats of the Margrave's halberdiers on the morning after the fight.

The interior of the Town House was greatly injured by the fire, but most of the documents were saved through the devotion of a secretary. Whole blocks of houses round the Market Place and near the castle perished, many full of costly merchandise and some, like the Guild houses on the Market Place, with their gabled façades, being beautiful buildings. Among the killed were the Burgomaster, Jan vander Meere, and the Margrave, Goswyn der Varick.

The factor of the Fuggers reported to his employers that the gold and silver coins alone which fell into the hands of the Spaniards surpassed two million crowns, without counting the value of plate, jewels, furniture, and merchandise, which must have come up to as much as the West Indies and Spain gave to Philip in several years.

Captain Ortis went to the Steen three days after the attack, and held the prisoners to ransom whatever their crimes, including heretics. The "*Bloedig Tooneel*" tells us that there was a shoemaker there who could have escaped had not his body been too broken by torture to make life worth living and he remained to be burnt later on.

The richest merchants and shopkeepers were forced to redeem their merchandise and household stuff for cash. Sad to relate many Netherlanders and even natives of the town seized this opportunity and joined in robbing and plundering, and so did Burgundians, Italians, and Germans.

Some wealthy citizens were killed in quarrels which arose among the spoilers as to shares. So died Gilles Smissart, a well-known dealer in precious stones. He had bought his life from the Spaniards and his property for ten thousand gulden, but later a party of Germans came to plunder him and in a quarrel he was stabbed.

Two young people had been married and that evening were to hold bridal-feast; but there was knocking on the door and Spaniards sacked the house and killed the bridegroom and some guests in the presence of the bride. They carried her to the castle.

The Spaniards hanged men up by their legs and arms, and women by their hair; they flogged people and burnt the soles of their feet to extort the hiding-place of their wealth. It was said that four million guildens' worth of plate and jewels was stolen.

Even Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, and English merchants were robbed. The English and the Easterlings were spoiled of all jewels, plate, and silver and their houses were held to ransom, the latter having to pay twenty thousand gulden. When the Spaniards came before the English House, the House of Lierre, in Prince's Street, the merchants protested that they had given no help to the States' troops, but had been neutral, and spoke of their privileges; but the Spaniards threatened to burn the house if not admitted. Twelve Spaniards entered and put Thomas Heton, the Governor, an old man, and the rest of the Company to ransom, at first for twelve thousand crowns, but their greed afterwards added another three thousand. The Company could pay five thousand in cash, plate, and jewels, and gave bonds at a month and two months for the balance. Many Adventurers lost heavily through the sacking and burning of houses and packhouses; four were killed and several were injured. They had asked the States and Champagnay and the magistrates for passports when fear of such a catastrophe first came, and they were entitled by their privileges to receive them, but their request had not been granted. They were left penniless and without food or fuel. One Englishman was forced to pay

three hundred crowns to redeem his master's goods and then was hanged until half dead to produce two hundred more. He was then taken down and sent out to borrow the money, and failing to do so was hanged outright. Another Englishman, who was in Antwerp and was lodging at the English House, took his cloak and sword after dinner and sallied out to see what was toward, and wrote an account of what he saw :

As I passed towards the Bourse I met many ; but I overtook none. [He was going towards the scene of the fighting.] And those which I met were not townsmen, but soldiers ; neither walked they as men which use traffic, but ran as men which are in fear. . . . By that time I came on the farther side of the Bourse, I might see a great troop coming in greater haste, with their heads as close together as a shoal of young fry or a flock of sheep ; who met me . . . and . . . bare me over backwards, and ran over my belly and my face, long time before I could recover on foot. At last, when I was up, I looked on every side, and seeing them run so fast, began thus to bethink me, "What, in God's name, do I here ? which have no interest in this action ?" . . . And whilst I stood thus musing, another flock of flyers came so fast that they bare me on my nose, and ran as many over my back, as erst had marched over my stomach. In fine, I got up like a tall fellow ; and went with them for company : but their haste was such as I could never overtake them until I came at a broad cross street, which lieth between the English House and the said Bourse.¹

The Fuggers' factor had to ransom himself for eleven thousand crowns. Colonel Fugger, who was related to members of the firm, went to the Fuggers' house in Stonecutters' Rampart and tried to hold it to ransom a second time for fifty thousand crowns, but was persuaded to depart.

Priests, monks, and Jesuits had to produce their jewels, plate, and ready money, and to ransom themselves even if they had to go to borrow the money in other towns.

Gilles Vermeulen, one of the Almoners of the town, was robbed, his house and furniture burnt to the loss of fifteen hundred crowns, and he, his wife, daughter, and maid were knocked about, and then he had to buy their lives for five hundred crowns, which he had to produce within ten days. The house of a colleague of his, Philip Dockaert, was plundered four times, and then he had to ransom himself for two thousand crowns.

The painter, Georges Hoefnagels, lost all his savings, which he had made in trading in precious stones. He had hidden thousands of guldens' worth of gems in a well, but the Spaniards forced his wife and maid to reveal the place.

In the house of the Guild of the Old Crossbow was destroyed the large and costly gilt cup presented by Duke John IV.

Champagney's house in Tanners Street was pillaged from top

¹ "The Spoyle of Antwerpe," Arber's "English Garner."

to bottom and he lost sixty thousand crowns in furniture, plate, jewels, and money. Four of his household were killed, including his aged porter, who was slow in opening the door when summoned, ten days after the general pillage was over, and paid for his delay with his life.

Christopher Plantin had to ransom himself nine times. The poor people in the town were hanged for having nothing, and there were many murdered in secret.

Next day, Roda went down from the castle to stop the sack and assembled the magistrates to decide what should be done, and d'Avila, Vargas, and Romero went among the troops with a similar object. The better-disposed Spaniards, like del Rio, thought that horrors not authorized by war or the rights of a conqueror had been perpetrated. The worst Spaniards prophesied that after this victory Philip would be lord of the Provinces in a manner he had never been before, but Ghent Castle had still to be relieved, which they hoped it would be before long—in fact, as soon as the Alost mutineers returned to discipline.

This terrible outrage on Antwerp has always been known as the "Spanish Fury."¹ The town remained in the hands of the Spaniards and commerce and navigation ceased, it seeming to lie in a backwater, for the Beggars prevented the ships of Philip's subjects coming up from the sea, and those belonging to the Hollanders and Zealanders could not go past Antwerp to Brussels, Malines, Termonde, and other places in the Southern Provinces. To remedy the latter evil the States cut dikes and enabled vessels to sail over the *polders* beyond the Flemish Headland without passing near to the castle.

When the news of what had happened reached Brussels fear spread among the people and most of the shops and business houses were closed. Many fled from Malines, and it was said the Spaniards would have found it undefended if they had approached it directly after the Fury. The effect was felt—so contemporaries state—not only in the Netherlands and Spain and Italy, but in all Europe and even in the Levant. There was great anxiety at Ghent, lest the Spaniards should burst out of the castle there.

In point of fact, there was more of a battle about the attack made on this November morning than some Netherlanders would have had it supposed. Soldiers agreed that even the fine training and discipline of the Spaniards did not prepare one to expect such a feat as their rapid carrying of the barricades. They did not pause to plunder until the town was theirs. Too much blame cannot be thrown on the commanders of the Walloon

¹ All writers on this period of Antwerp's history give some details of the Spanish Fury. The best accounts are those of Champagny in his "Mémoires" and by Génard in "La Furie espagnole," "Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique," Series III, Tome II.

regiments : officers and men were allowed to leave their posts for refreshment and relaxation, so that many were at the other end of the town when the fighting began. The treachery of van Ende is the more to be regretted since he was a Brabanter. Champagny was the only commander who throughout proved capable and loyal.

The point which seems to stand out most clearly when search is made as to why so many townspeople suddenly found themselves at the mercy of five thousand Spaniards, when they could have made some sort of defence, is that on the 19th of October was revoked an order which directed each citizen to run armed to his post when a disturbance arose,¹ a new one being issued that each man should wait at his house. Experience had taught how greatly undisciplined bodies of excited armed men in the streets added to the danger at such times. Some were called too late to the Ox Market and the Old Bourse by Champagny. Now, as in 1566, drilled companies of citizens would have been invaluable, but the fact must not be lost sight of that before the men were brought up from Maastricht, Lierre, and Alost, there were only some two hundred Spaniards in the castle and Champagny had no fears for the town, if only reinforcements could be kept away, for which purpose he would have kept the States' troops outside the town ; and even when the fighting was over he did not know that so many mutineers had reached the castle and was surprised at the number which issued from it into the town.

Roda wrote to Philip that the victory was one of the greatest which God had given to his house for three hundred years—that it was a miracle and showed that God was indignant at the wickedness of the Beggars. The English thought that it was rather that the people of Antwerp had trusted to the wisdom of their leaders and had been disappointed, and blamed them for not looking after their affairs better, remarking that they should have known that the Spaniards were not ignorant how to use a victory nor over-merciful until they found themselves masters of the field and in a secure and peaceable state, and that they would never find themselves so in the Provinces, for they felt like a band of Christians among a nation of infidels. They thought that Antwerp had become too slack to guard her own wealth and called London and all English towns to energy.

Antwerp was made hideous by the Spanish soldiers for weeks to come. They put dicing tables in the Bourse, and some lost as much as ten thousand crowns at a throw and "every Don Diego of them must walk, jetting up and down the streets, with his harlot by him, in her chain and bracelets of gold." To get their loot away they turned the gold into hilts of daggers and

¹ Génard, "Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique," Series III, Tome II, p. 366.

swords, into helmets and breastplates, and some dishonest armourers made these things of baser metal than that entrusted to them and so defrauded the robbers and saved gold and silver from leaving the town ; but the Spaniards had entered the rich city as paupers and were now wealthy and it was the city which was poor.

CHAPTER IX

THE RETURN OF ORANGE

AFTER the Fury, the Spaniards permitted no one to leave the town without a passport, which it was difficult to obtain; no merchandise could go in or out, and food became very scarce. Houses continued to burn for some days until the Spaniards sent sailors and men from the quays to put out the fires. For quite a long time bodies of those drowned were recovered, including that of Oberstein, which was honourably buried. Shopkeepers, especially tailors, shoemakers, armourers, gunmakers, and so on, made a lot of money, for there was plenty in the soldiers' pockets; but there was nothing on the Bourse and all payments due in November had to be prolonged. The new Governor-General, Don John, gave orders that restitution should be made to the merchants, and he added that should they wish it they were to be allowed to depart with their property. These orders supplemented others given by the magistrates that no one should buy anything from Spanish soldiers. Queen Elizabeth pushed the claim made by the English merchants—namely, for seven thousand crowns and bonds to be restored—and like claims were made by the Genoese, Florentines, Luccese, Lombards, and even Spaniards. Some of the English departed but, in spite of his promise, Don John was loath to let them go, and they had to put up with the inconvenience of arrest on their journey. The Spanish merchants declared that none of them had gained by the spoil of the town. Tapestries stolen from the Town House by the Spanish soldiers were bought by Henry Lopez and returned.

A large body of the Spanish soldiers left the town on the 7th of November, but even at the end of the month there were still eight hundred of them in the castle and twelve hundred in the town; Valdes had sixteen hundred in the fort on the Flemish Headland, and there were six companies of Germans under van Ende within the walls.

On several occasions panics arose and rumours ran that the Spaniards had again burst out of the castle, but things gradually became more quiet.

Philip had given the post of Governor-General to his half-brother, Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, in the preceding April, and his acceptance was reported in Antwerp in May. He reached Luxemburg on the day before the Fury, all

too late. His military reputation was beyond his deserts, and his inexperience and youth frustrated his desire to exhibit great diplomatic ability in the Provinces. By nature he was arrogant and he found it irksome to have to make himself pleasant to northerners, whom he despised. His task was to be the negotiating of a peace with the States-General and Orange, and he remained in Luxemburg, as the safest place in which to be. But Philip ought to have made peace before the Fury, for it had alienated all hearts from his soldiers and his rule, and it was now too late. The new Governor-General was authorized to offer pardon to all excepting the Prince, and to give way on all points so long as the old faith was maintained inviolate: he might permit the States-General to meet and the Spanish soldiers to be withdrawn.¹ He wrote to the King that the affair at Antwerp was a great pity, and expressed his disapproval of such sacks as had happened there and at Maastricht, for the very name of Spaniard now inspired disgust.² Philip saw it had done infinite harm to his peace projects,³ and realized that he had now lost as many subjects by the sentences of the Blood Council and through the persecution of heretics and massacres by his troops as he had in the last war with France.

Had Don John arrived ten days earlier this great disaster to Philip's cause might have been averted, and he would certainly have found his welcome greater. The Spaniards were pleased at his coming, but did not like the schemes for peace he brought with him. They felt that they were now so detested that the Netherlanders would not rest until they had been got rid of, and would call in a foreign power rather than let them remain; and just as Spaniard had been bound to Spaniard by hatred of Jews and Moors at home, so they were now bound together against the Netherlanders. Roda said there reigned among them such fraternity that no enterprise seemed to them to be too difficult, and he felt that Ghent Castle should be relieved, and the towns of Ghent and Brussels captured before there was any talk of peace.

The greatest result of the Spanish Fury was the signing of the Pacification of Ghent on the 8th of November. It was the work of Orange and amounted to a treaty between Holland and Zeeland on the one part and Brabant, Flanders, and Hainaut on the other, by which all bound themselves to drive out the foreign soldiers, and then to convoke the States-General to decide about the exercise of religion. The Southern Provinces found it impossible to obtain their demand that the Catholic faith should be installed in Holland and Zeeland, and Orange had likewise to drop his demand for recognition of the new religion in the south.

¹ Blok, III, p. 107.

² Gachard, "Philip," Vol. V, p. 45.

³ Same, p. 61.

The Pacification had been preceded by the capture of Valenciennes by the States and was followed in three days by that of Ghent Castle. The result of these successes was that recruits began to come in for the States' army as never before, and things began to look as if it were not unlikely that the patriots might soon be in a position to starve out Antwerp Castle. By the end of the first week in December they had all the Seventeen Provinces in their hands except Luxemburg, Antwerp, Lierre, and Maastricht. No doubt the reason for Philip's thoughts now running on peace was that he was not rich enough to carry on war successfully and the Spanish Fury was a product of his bankruptcy. After the Fury nothing could be borrowed in Antwerp, even from the Fuggers' factor, and the Spanish Fairs had so declined that money could not be borrowed in Spain.¹

If Fugger had any money he was always disposed to let Philip have it, for he felt that if the troops were not paid the Provinces would be lost, together with his security for the money he had already lent. Money was actually being provided in Antwerp when the Fury broke out.²

In April, the Union of Delft had confirmed Orange's dictatorship over Holland and Zealand and had immensely strengthened his hand, enabling him to treat with the other provinces at Ghent and with the King of France or other foreign powers. He had offered the Protectorship, under Philip, of Holland and Zealand to the Duke of Alençon (afterwards Anjou), but scarcity of money prevented the plan bearing fruit. He was now immensely popular among the lower classes in Brabant, but the nobles looked on him with suspicion and jealousy. In the Walloon Provinces his chances of becoming a popular leader had been spoiled by his turning Calvinist. It became, therefore, necessary after the signing of the Pacification of Ghent, to move a Catholic prince as a figurehead, if nothing more, but any sign of the French nearing Zealand aroused all the jealousy of Queen Elizabeth.

In December, 1576, she offered to assist Don John in pacifying the country if he would use peaceful means only; but informed him that on his resorting to force she would help the rebels, for she could not afford to allow the Frenchman an excuse for being in Zealand, but the rebels must not be unreasonable in their demands on Philip.

While Orange was treating with Alençon, the States-General was showing Don John on what terms it would admit him as Governor-General, and the negotiations resulted in a preliminary Accord in December and then in the Perpetual Edict (signed on the 17th of February, 1577). Don John bound himself to with

¹ Ehrenberg, "Zëitalter der Fugger," Vol. II, p. 216, etc.

² Same, Vol. I, p. 180.

draw the foreign soldiers as soon as they had been paid, and he sent Escovedo, his secretary, and Octavio Gonzaga to Antwerp to treat with the officers in the castle concerning their departure. The Perpetual Edict confirmed the Pacification of Ghent and granted a general amnesty and Philip promised to respect the various privileges of his subjects, the States undertaking to maintain the old religion and loyalty to the King. Holland and Zealand stood aloof from this treaty.

Don John regarded his position with the greatest distaste, and only consoled himself with the prospect of invading England, and that prospect would be gone with the Spanish veterans. Escovedo and Gonzaga found that the Spaniards would not refuse to go, but d'Avila thought another honourable post should be conferred on him. Escovedo addressed the men and told them that if the King was at all offended by their past conduct there was here a means of pleasing him, and he flattered them that they had lost no battle on land excepting at Heiligerlee. What had happened on the water was, he admitted, another matter.

The States had still cause to complain to Don John that the Spaniards were robbing the Antwerp citizens. About Christmas-time two of their galleys went up the river and attempted to take Fort St. Margaret on the Brabant bank near St. Bernard's Abbey, but it was bravely defended by States' troops and the Spaniards lost one galley and sent twelve wagons of wounded to Antwerp. Early in January, the States-General sent twenty companies of English and Scots in the service of William of Orange into Limburg, and cut Antwerp off from Don John, who was at Marche, and so hastened the final decision concerning the signing of Peace; and on the 9th of that month the Antwerp magistrates signed the Union of Brussels, binding together all the Southern Provinces, excepting Luxemburg, to oppose the Spaniards, and to maintain the Catholic religion and the terms of the Pacification of Ghent.¹ Philip ratified the Perpetual Edict on the 7th of April, 1577.

Escovedo had many difficulties to contend with in arranging for the departure of the Spaniards, for many were wounded and some had wives and children, and by the terms of the Accord they had to go by land and not by sea. Treasurer Schetz and the Receiver-General joined him to arrange for the raising of the three hundred thousand florins which the States had promised to pay at once: the rest to be met by bills payable at Genoa.

Don John and Escovedo personally found part of the money, and yet the people would not believe they in-

¹ Holland and Zealand refused to sign, on the ground that the matter of religion was not dealt with according to the Pacification of Ghent.

tended to behave honestly or that they would send the soldiers away.

The Peace was proclaimed at Antwerp on the 27th of February with singing, ringing of bells, and firing of guns; but people said they would not believe in it until the Spaniards had gone, and all castles had been handed over.

The States-General nominated the Duke of Arschot Castellan of Antwerp Castle, and he took over his charge on the 20th of March from d'Avila's lieutenant—the chief being too proud to be present—and took his oath to Escovedo to hold it for Philip and his successors, his lieutenant being his sixteen-year-old son, the Prince de Chimay. Don John, the Council of State, the States of Brabant, and Orange had all been keenly alive to the importance of the appointment. The States had at first been reluctant to appoint Arschot, who was Don John's choice, and would have preferred candidates put forward by Orange, who really wanted the castle destroyed and did all he could to prevent the people trusting Don John.

Mentioning in a letter the growing power of Orange, Don John expressed his regret that half of what had been spent on building Antwerp Castle had not been devoted to building one at Flushing. Holland and Zeeland under the guidance of Orange, were now appearing more valuable than any of Philip's provinces, for they had havens, mariners, munitions, and were a bulwark which England could not afford to see destroyed.

Under Arschot served the Viscomte de Gand and the Seigneur de Treslong¹ and other captains, and they commanded four companies of Walloons. After they had taken charge the great gates of the castle were opened and the Spaniards marched out, laden with booty from the sack of the town. Many had married Netherland women, who went with them. There were some twenty thousand of them—soldiers, women, sutlers, and children—and they had ten or twelve thousand horses, and one thousand wagons, so that their retreat made Roda think of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. Their ten years' sojourn in the Provinces had been one long story of cruelty, tyranny, murder, robbery, and violence, and they had treated the inhabitants as they would have done infidels. They met their comrades at Maastricht and waited until satisfied as to pay.

Orange now withdrew his warships from before the town to Zeeland, and the States-General demanded the abolition of licences, gabelles, and impositions which he had for some years levied on merchandise. They demanded this under the Pacification of Ghent, but Orange was unwilling to accede to their request. The withdrawal of the fleet was designed to encourage the merchants and shopkeepers to return and to remove any fear

¹ This officer must not be confused with the Admiral Bloys de Treslong.

that he wished to seize the town now that the Spaniards had gone, and his ships frequently lay at the quays and crowds of people went on board. As a matter of fact, Orange did hope to get a foothold in Antwerp and disliked the Peace, the terms of which he had supposed Don John would never accept. He feared the Union of Brussels and recognized neither that nor the Peace in Holland or Zeeland.

The Germans should have departed at the same time as the Spaniards, but there seemed to be no prospect of paying off more than thirty-six of the sixty companies in the King's service, and so a number of them remained in the town, some of whom had taken part with the Spaniards in the Fury, and the Antwerpers hated them for it; so on the day after the departure of the Spaniards the magistrates had to issue an order against any injury being done them. It was calculated that as things stood it would take four years to pay and get rid of them, and the Emperor's ambassador, who happened to be in Antwerp, was pressing their claims. Escovedo came to Antwerp and offered them two months' pay in cash and one in cloths, if they would leave the country at once, and bonds for the balance, but few of them were in favour of accepting his offer. In the middle of April, Escovedo took thirty thousand florins from Antwerp to Maastricht for the Spaniards still there, together with assurances that they would receive three hundred thousand more on bills when they reached Milan and Genoa; and having thus taken all the money there was in the treasury or could be raised they left the country, by which time the States' troops in the great camp at Lierre were in mutiny and deserting for lack of pay. The townspeople demanded the withdrawal of the Germans and offered to keep watch and ward themselves. Some months before this Provost Morillon had written, "*Ces Allemandz noz mangeront les oreilles, et les Espaignolz noz pelleront le blancq des yeulx.*"¹

Orange was anxious that the castle should be razed at once, or at least made part of the town by the demolition of a wall, as had been done at Utrecht, but the knowledge that he was fortifying Holland and Zeeland on the land side and that he had boasted he could take even Antwerp Castle in six weeks persuaded the clergy and other Catholics, who hated him, to oppose such a course, arguing that Antwerp was a frontier town, for the refusal of Holland and Zeeland, under Orange's guidance, to agree to the Perpetual Edict left those Provinces still out of the Peace. The citizens of Antwerp refused to lend money for the pay of the Germans until the castle was razed and the Germans would not go without it.

On the 17th of May, Don John gave the magistrates orders to select a certain number of the most trustworthy citizens to

¹ Poulet, "Granvelle," Vol. VI, p. 107.

help the Germans to guard the gates during the Pentecost Fair, for fear there might be some trouble when the town was full of strangers. The magistrates, however, demurred at this mixing of citizens and Germans, saying the latter were addicted to getting drunk, and then often became insolent to those who happened to be near them at the time. They urged that a townsman might find himself on duty with a German who had robbed or ill-used him during the Spanish Fury and might take vengeance, and it so happened that on the 26th of May, the day after Pentecost, a townsman passing St. George's Gate recognized his cloak on a German's back and ran at him and stabbed him, but could not recover his property. The Germans of the guard began to fire their harquebuses and the people in the street pelted the Germans with stones and then ran to arms, and riots and fighting went on for several days.

There were a few Spaniards still in the town, and some of these and some Germans were accused of having taken part in the Fury and efforts were made to lynch them. The mob killed one Spaniard with stones, sticks, and poniards, and several Germans.

The result of all this was that three more companies of Walloons under Colonel de Bours were sent into the castle, and Don John sent Escovedo to try to get rid of the Germans, whom the inhabitants hated by this time as much as the Spaniards. On their part the Germans were terrified of the townspeople and dared not go out at night, and would only sleep in houses in which there were a number of them together. Finally, Don John arranged to meet the German colonels—Frondsberger, Fugger, and Polwiller—at Malines and there they listened to his offers to pay part of what was owing in cash, part in cloth, and part at a future date; and the offer seems none too generous, for their claim was for three years' pay, and they came to no agreement which the men were likely to ratify. Don John thought there might be a rising to kill the Germans, and in June asked for the Spanish soldiers to be sent back, as he feared he himself might be made a prisoner,¹ for that, he felt, would be the result of the Germans committing any outrage, as he fully expected they would do. He was not any too sure that the Germans might not seize him and keep him until they were paid. M. de Hierges told him that the Marquis de Havré had asked the Prince d'Epinoy if he would have the courage to cut the throats of the Germans in Antwerp, with the aid of the men in the castle, and that Epinoy had said he would do it if Don John would give his consent; and this seemed a likely, as it would have been a cheap way of getting rid of the guests who had outstayed their welcome.

By the time Don John had been eight months in the

¹ Gachard, "Philip," Vol. V, p. 425.

country he had learnt to hate and fear the people. He had endeavoured to win their affection and had shot at their popinjay and made himself "as charming as Circe," but all to no purpose. In the middle of June, 1577, he unwisely beheaded a tailor at Malines for heresy, and his unpopularity increased.

While the German colonels were with him at Malines in June he opened to them that Orange was still the King's enemy, and that it was their duty to serve the King rather than the States, and persuaded them that there was a conspiracy on foot in Antwerp to cheat them of their pay. The colonels listened to him, but his plot was not ready when he made another move for his own safety. On the 24th of July, he seized the Castle of Namur. Altogether there were about eighteen thousand Germans in Antwerp, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, Bois-le-Duc, and Ruremonde. The plan, as developed when Don John was inside Namur Castle, was that Treslong, who favoured Don John, should hold the castle at Antwerp for him and unite with the six companies of Germans in the town, some companies of van Ende's regiment being brought in as reinforcements. Don John had already removed Arschot and his son by summoning them to attend on him.

A rumour disclosing the details of this plot ran through the town on the evening of the 28th of July. The magistrates shut the gates and the Germans armed themselves, but the States-General had got wind of it some time before and had indulged in a counterplot. They had sent the Baron van Liedekercke to Antwerp as Governor—for Champagny had not returned after the Fury—and he and Willem van Rouck, got into communication with the Seigneur de Bours in the castle, and bribed him to surrender it to the States. They also ordered Champagny's regiment of Walloons to cut off van Ende's Germans from Antwerp, which they did under his lieutenant, in the first action fought against Don John since his arrival, and as it turned out the first of a new war, for by seizing Namur Castle Don John had broken the treaty.

Treslong realized the danger of his position and wrote of it to Don John on the very day on which the plot against the castle was to be carried out. His company was on watch on the 1st of August and the Germans in the town were to be let in, but at about eight o'clock in the evening his company—which was the only one which was loyal to Don John—was attacked by de Bours and his men and driven out. The chief conspirators were meanwhile in the house of Willam Martini, the greffier, and were kept informed of how things were going with de Bours. One of their sentries saw de Bours's hat, with its white plume, floating in the moat and reported his death. On this the conspirators prepared to flee to Flushing on the turn of

the tide, but Martini went up to the castle to gather information, and on hearing of the success caused a gun to be fired as a signal that all was well. Treslong and his lieutenant were taken prisoners and sent to the Broodhuis at Brussels.

The German colonels, Frondsberger and Fugger, heard that something had taken place in the castle and perceiving their designs were now fully known kept their men under arms all night and took up positions, at first on the Meer Bridge and then in the New Town, digging in and making defences of bales of wool and things taken from ships. The townspeople ran to arms fearing a German Fury. Soon after midday, Van Liedekercke and his friends offered one hundred and fifty thousand gulden to the Germans if they would depart. The men seemed inclined to be satisfied with this offer, but the officers bargained about wagons for their journey. The negotiations lasted all day and kept the Germans at the end of the town farthest from the castle. Late in the afternoon the townsmen decided that the wisest course would be to drive the mercenaries from the town unpaid; and having obtained leave to do so from the magistrates they attacked them and so discomfited them that they began to retire towards the Mud Gate. Their victory was hastened by the appearance of Orange's fleet, which had sailed up in consequence of a report as to what was going on and fired a few shots, which ended all resistance. The enemy fled, carrying the keys of the town with them, and the citizens and the Military Guilds seized the gates and kept watch all night. The town was lost to Don John and was free of foreign soldiers for the first time for ten years and the people held the castle.

At Orange's suggestion Van Liedekercke was sent to Brussels to get leave from the States to demolish the castle, and he returned with a favourable answer on the 21st of August; so on the next day the Broad Council resolved to complete the town wall between St. George's Gate and the castle and to destroy the wall of the latter which faced the town. The Count de Lalaing, who now commanded the States' army, came to Antwerp to organize a citizen guard, which all excepting the magistrates and clergy were made to join. It was the general opinion that such military measures as the States would take would be entirely of a defensive nature, which some thought a mistake as there would be time to sweep Don John out of the country before the Spaniards could return.

On the 23rd of August, three of the Military Guilds went with a company of young picked men newly recruited to the Castle Esplanade, with flags flying and drums beating, to demolish the wall facing the town, but when they got there they found such a large crowd of rejoicing people that they could not begin work that day. Thousands turned out to help them when they began next afternoon, of all ages and of both sexes, thinking every hour

a year until it was done. They worked all night, and scandals of some sort arose so that the magistrates had to interfere. Antonio del Rio attributed this state of things to the licence which is produced by war.¹ They came upon the famous statue of Alva, which Requesens had taken down and stored in a case-ment, and they hacked at it in their hatred with axes and hammers and rolled it through the streets, until it was broken in pieces. Some kept pieces of it as souvenirs.

One of the most delightful results of the destruction of the castle was that Orange then allowed merchant ships to go freely up and down again. He had about eight companies of soldiers on Walcheren at this time and he kept some eighteen "crumsters" in the Scheldt.

We are entering upon a new epoch of Antwerp history which lasted from the capture of the castle by the Beggars to the final recapture of the town for Philip by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma.

In the years following the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis it was necessary to follow the persecution of heretics closely to see whether or not the disorders which afterwards broke out in the town were caused by unjust treatment measured out to those who held unorthodox religious views. We saw that the persons put to death were mostly those who had been rebaptized, and for that reason were regarded as Anabaptists, even if they were not really members of that sect, and, as a rule, they were not more harshly treated than they would have been wise to expect at that period. We have seen the town thrown into riots by rascals and fanatics—many of them strangers—and the armed rising which was crushed at Austruweel. We have seen too—as we ought to have expected to see—punishment for these things inflicted by Alva and his officers, but a surprising feature has been Alva's insistence on schemes of taxation which could bring only disaster on a commercial town. During this period there have been two quarrels with England, each of which led to a breach of commercial intercourse with evil consequences. After the iconoclastic outrages of 1566 less time need be devoted to the story of the suppression of heresy, for it was only what should have been expected. The Grand-Commander, as we have seen, meant to be less severe, but, after the conspiracies, returned to some extent to earlier methods. The last execution we have referred to was that of the two Anabaptists who perished on the 28th of January, 1576, when Requesens's life was drawing to a close.

Goswyn der Varick, the Margrave, who was killed in the Fury, was succeeded by Simon vander Werve. On the 4th of January, 1577, while the Spaniards were still in the castle, three Anabaptists were put to death, and on the 18th four suffered. The Pacification of Ghent brought no relief to such persons as

¹ "Mémoires," Vol. II, p. 285, etc.

these, although by Article V all placards made against heresy and all the criminal ordinances of Alva were suspended until the States-General should decide and order otherwise. At the time of the Fury all heretics who had not been too much broken by torture escaped from the Steen, and the register of those convicted stops at April, 1577.¹ From the day of the signing of the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis to the end of the record something like eight hundred and fifty persons were dealt with in Antwerp, of both sexes and of all ages and conditions, and were convicted and punished either for being rebaptized, for not having their children baptized, for holding or attending forbidden meetings or possessing or dealing with forbidden books, for breaking images or pillaging churches, for rioting at the executions of heretics, for injuring ecclesiastics, for taking part in armed risings. By far the greater number were described as Anabaptists, and the Lutherans were few compared with them. The number of those described as Calvinists begins to increase in 1568, when a batch were sent before the Blood Council at Brussels and banished. Later in that year a number of Lutherans were banished. In 1571 many Calvinists were arraigned and we still find some prisoners described as Libertinen who specialized in robbery.

The persons mentioned in these records were burnt, drowned, hanged, beheaded, banished, sent to the galleys or on pilgrimage. It seems that at one time even to insult a Spanish soldier was an offence which was considered to prove the offender to be a heretic. Who else would offend men in the service of the Catholic King? Excepting the year 1568, it seems the inhabitants were fairly well kept from the jaws of the Blood Council, but Anthony van Straelen was carried to Vilvoorde and some prisoners were sent to Brussels by Alva's order. The victims included tailors, apothecaries, frippery-men, masons, glaziers, tapestry-weavers, pedlars, chair-makers, satin-makers, confectioners, silversmiths, bookbinders, carpenters, stocking-makers, cloth-shearers, lace-makers, a parish priest, a runaway monk, a professor from Heidelberg University, labourers, painters, soldiers, crane-men from the Wharf, gardeners, cobblers, merchants, lansquenets, advocates (Charles van Bomberghen and another), Wesenbeke (the town-pensionary), a skepyn of the Cloth Hall, a notary, town-fiddlers, Willem Silvius (the printer), many schoolmasters and schoolmistresses; indeed, a batch of thirty-four, in 1568, all Lutherans—sailors, butchers, gunmakers.² "The Bloedig Tooneel" says that the heretic shoemaker who was too broken to leave the Steen when the Spaniards broke into it at the time of the Fury was soon afterwards burnt and records the execution of three others.

¹ "Antwerpsch Archievenblad."

² Same, XIV, p. 1, etc.

It had been difficult to find a successor to Sonnius. Roda had reported to the King that none of the Netherland theologians were fit for the post, for they dined and supped with those who were most suspected of heresy and had no longer the courage to proceed against anyone. A person of quality was needed, and many would have preferred the aged Roger de Taxis, who had been Dean since 1545, but he was unpopular through his persecution of heretics and was looked on with suspicion by those who were opposed to Philip, and there was great doubt as to whether he would be well received. Ultimately Philip appointed the cultured Laevinus Torrentius, a canon of Liège.

Those in Antwerp who were not in favour of the Perpetual Edict declared that it was the work of the priests and clerical party in the States-General who had urged on a peace of any sort so that they might end the sittings of that body and stop all talk of liberty of conscience. It was called "La Paix des Prestres."

The importance of the castle to all Catholics is emphasized by a rumour which came to the ears of the States that the Antwerp Jesuits had offered three tons of gold (fifty thousand pounds, Flemish) to save it from being demolished, and for it to be held by a garrison for Don John; and so much importance was attached to the feeling which the rumour would create that steps were taken to contradict it. The hatred of the Jesuits increased every year.

Three days after the last foreign soldier had been driven out the magistrates published an edict against anyone injuring ecclesiastics, or their houses or property, or merchants or anyone else. On the morning of that day a fiddler named Hans van Eynde met two Grey Friars and invited them to drink with him. They declined his offer and so he abused them, and the bystanders had to come to their assistance. This was quite contrary to the terms of the Pacification of Ghent, and was perhaps what called forth the Edict. On conviction Hans was banished for twelve years, and so the magistrates made a good start under the new regime. At the same time they forbade anyone to hold or attend conventicles, whether they went to them armed or unarmed. But Calvinist psalms were to be heard in the streets and forbidden books were exposed for sale. Priests carrying the Sacrament to the sick, and even preachers in the churches, were soon made fun of, and nearly every night there was a hostile mob outside the Jesuits'. It was difficult to realize that the Pacification of Ghent had forbidden the new religion to be exercised openly in the Southern Provinces. Two letters written by William Davison, the English ambassador, from Brussels, on the 9th of September, the one to Burghley and the other to Leicester, asserted that war was the only "medicine" which could cure the Provinces, but that neither side had money.

Davison could see nothing but confusion unless Orange accepted an invitation the States had just given him to come south. Various motives had prompted the States to invite him, but the drooping spirits of many good patriots were somewhat lifted up by the report that he would come. The States hoped that he would be the harbinger of help from Elizabeth.

Don John was preparing for war. The Spanish soldiers were coming back, and he was in communication with fresh levies in Germany, France, and Savoy, and had some hope of help from Guise.

News from the Provinces was eagerly awaited in England. The internal peace which had been restored to France by the Peace of Monsieur was filling Elizabeth with anxiety. It appeared as if the Frenchman might again set foot in Zealand, and she was quite aware that Don John had come to the Provinces with the hope and intention of pushing the Spanish arms beyond the channel. The Bishop of Liège had expressed wonder that Catholic princes planned to crush the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Prince of Orange, when, as it seemed to him, it would be best to begin with the Queen of England, for when she was once subdued all others would yield immediately. In September she promised the States one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and five thousand foot and one thousand horse in her pay.

Orange's return to Antwerp after an absence of ten years provided one of those dramatic scenes which appeal so strongly to the emotions. He had left the town a fugitive before Alva, and one who might have been thought to have brought his country and himself to the verge of ruin by his policy. He returned on the evening of the 18th of September, 1577, by the Red Gate, now a Calvinist and the acknowledged leader of those who had adopted the new religion and the only man who could lead the Netherlanders against Philip. The question was, How large a portion of the Seventeen Provinces wanted to be led? Would it be more than Holland, Zealand, and the northern parts, and would Antwerp join with them? If Antwerp, then why not Brussels; and if Brussels, why not all the Netherlands, even Luxemburg?

He came in a coach accompanied by his brother John and escorted by horse and foot. He was met by the Governor of the town (Baron van Liedekercke), the wyckmasters, and deputies from the Easterlings. The Military Guilds and the harquebusmen of the newly raised citizen regiments were paraded to welcome him and lined the streets as he drove to the Royal lodging in St. Michael's Abbey. Outside the abbey they fired such a salute that all Antwerp seemed to tremble and a cloud of smoke hid man from man. He was waited on by deputies of the States-General, who greeted him and urged him to go on to Brussels.

Soon after his arrival it was discovered that Don John had been receiving money from certain Antwerp merchants, who bolted rather than await accusations of having corresponded with the enemy and their counting-houses were sealed up.

Orange began a series of entertainments which extended over his whole sojourn in the south. He invited the magistrates and the deans of the Military Guilds to dinner. He went to the English House and spent an hour walking in the garden with William Davison, the English ambassador, afterwards partaking of a "little banquet" and pleasing the English merchants very much. He was waiting to hear what was happening at Brussels and Namur before going farther, and being at length satisfied and feeling safe he embarked on the 23rd of September to go to Brussels by canal, and reached it in the evening. He was escorted by deputies from the States-General and from the town of Brussels and by three hundred harquebusmen from Antwerp, all wearing his colours. He was well received in Brussels. But if the humbler people, and more particularly those who had changed their religion and the merchants from Protestant countries and the emissaries of Protestant princes were in raptures at his coming and saw in it a sign that a great future lay before the Provinces as one great, free country, yet there was a party equally full of disgust that one who had changed his religion and had been disloyal to his King should find so much favour. This party, of course, included the few Spaniards and Italians who still remained in the towns held by the States, but consisted mainly of the Netherland nobles—mostly Catholic and actuated in several cases by jealousy—of the clergy, and of a certain number of Catholic burghers, who, although hating the Spaniards, did not care to be led by a Calvinist. They came to be called the "Malcontents" and their chief was the Duke of Arschot. These men now decided to weaken Orange's growing power by bringing the youthful Archduke Matthias, the younger brother of the Emperor and a Catholic, into the Provinces to be Governor-General for Philip. On the 8th of October, therefore, the States, under the guidance of the "Malcontents," intimated to Don John that they no longer recognized him as Governor-General, and prepared to receive Matthias. The best that Orange's friends could do for him under these circumstances was to get the States of Brabant and the States-General to appoint him to the high office of Ruward of Brabant—long out of use—and they did this at the end of October, to the joy of the democratic and Calvinist party; but the condition was imposed on him that he should promise to respect the Catholic religion. To balance this Arschot was made Governor of Flanders.

This matter of the Ruwardship being arranged Orange wisely determined to make the best use he could of Matthias for his own ends, but to hold the power himself and let the young man

be a mere figurehead to pacify a section of the people. He felt none too safe in Brussels during the month he stayed there, for he feared the jealousy of the nobles, and the citizens considered it necessary to guard him themselves. He had, in fact, decided to withdraw, not only to Antwerp, but to Breda, when his election as Ruward and his plan to make use of Matthias induced him to stay at Antwerp. He returned thither on Wednesday, the 23rd of October, and was joined by his wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, who had feared all the time he might be assassinated in the dark streets of Brussels. She also expected, strong Calvinist as she was, that the States would not allow him to exercise his new religion even in private, and she thought he could not long exist without such consolation.

At this time Queen Elizabeth was trying to raise one hundred thousand pounds sterling (eight gulden to the pound) on Antwerp Bourse. This was the sum with which she had promised to help the States and she offered her own credit, that of the London merchants, that of the Merchant Adventurers, and that of the Merchants of the Staple as security. Thomas Gresham and Nicolas Carrington went over to arrange the loan, but she was still proceeding with caution about giving any help, for she and Leicester were perturbed by the coming of Matthias, for it showed how great was the dissension among the Netherlanders, and she wanted to see more power given to Orange. She made the absurd demand of the States that they should guarantee the safety of English ships which were in Spanish harbours.

William of Orange and the Princess lodged at first at St. Michael's, and the courtyards of the Abbey were open to the people, who flocked to see their hero, and for the moment he was very popular. But many who smiled on him hated him in their hearts. The magistrates had supplied magnificent tapestry for the lodging; the frippery-brokers had been ordered to supply beds for his suite, and the stables of the inns were full of his horses. He devoted so much time to entertaining those who might be of use to the cause that before the end of the month he seemed to be neglecting important business to do so; but in point of fact, affairs of great importance were never absent from his mind. The Ruwardship of Brabant gave him control of Brussels, Termonde, and Antwerp; he was sure of Holland (excepting Amsterdam), Zealand, Utrecht, Overijssel, Nieuport, and the towns in Friesland and Guelders. His next venture was at Ghent, where, on the 28th of October, there was a popular outbreak and the new Governor of Flanders, the Duke of Arschot, was seized in his house at midnight. Orange, of course, disowned complicity,¹ but none the less he had received a certain Ryhove by night at Antwerp and conferred with him, and the plot was the work of Ryhove and Imbeze. This manœuvre made a great

¹ Pirenne, IV, p. 109.

change in men's regard for Orange and, rather to his surprise, the Broad Council at Antwerp refused to admit any of his troops. A rumour spread through Flanders and even reached Rome that an attempt by him to seize the town had ended in his being shot with an arquebus. Certainly his popularity in Antwerp began to decline soon after these events in Ghent.

CHAPTER X

THE ARCHDUKE MATTHIAS

THE new Governor-General reached Lierre on the 30th of October, having fled by night from Vienna.

He waited at Lierre for three weeks when the plague drove him out. The States-General decided to give him a great welcome at Antwerp, and on the 21st of November, Orange and the magistrates went out with twelve companies of citizen soldiers to meet him at Berchem and escorted him to St. Michael's which Orange and his family had left the night before for the Fuggers' House in the Stonecutters' Rampart. Matthias was dressed in mourning for his father and rode a fine grey horse.

To those standing in the crowded streets he seemed to have been given little by nature and to have added little to it by upbringing : short and slender, slow of speech and of childish behaviour, but of a kind and gentle disposition. The Antwerp ladies complained that he did not off-cap to them. On the whole, the reception given him was not more enthusiastic than that given to the central figure of any pageant at Antwerp ; but those most pleased to see him were they who thought his coming might set a bound to Orange's influence and ultimately bring peace. The day was chiefly remarkable for the promising appearance of the new citizen regiments, eight thousand being in arms, well equipped, and marching with drum and ensign.

Matthias was to wait in Antwerp while the States-General drew up the form of oath which he was to be called upon to take. On the day after his entry some of Orange's ships came up the river, and, although they had hitherto been welcome and although they had no fighting men on board, yet so greatly had Orange lost credit recently that this incident was looked on with suspicion. A few days later the Archduke was entertained by Orange on one of the ships at a splendid banquet.

By the 1st of December, Colonel Balfour was in Antwerp with troops for service in the States' army. Perhaps the town was upset by the arrival of these Scots or by the presence of Matthias or by suspicions of Orange or by the appearance of a comet, which was said to foretell strife among rulers and the decay of religion, or by the news that the Spanish soldiers were returning to Don John, under Alexander Farnese, and that war would soon begin again—anyway, there was great anxiety among the traders and there was another exodus of great German merchants.

The States-General had formally declared Don John no longer Governor-General, and this move was followed by a new Act of Union between the Seventeen Provinces signed at Brussels with mutual guarantees for both religions. The Pacification of Ghent had only admitted the new religions in so far as it had prohibited persecution.

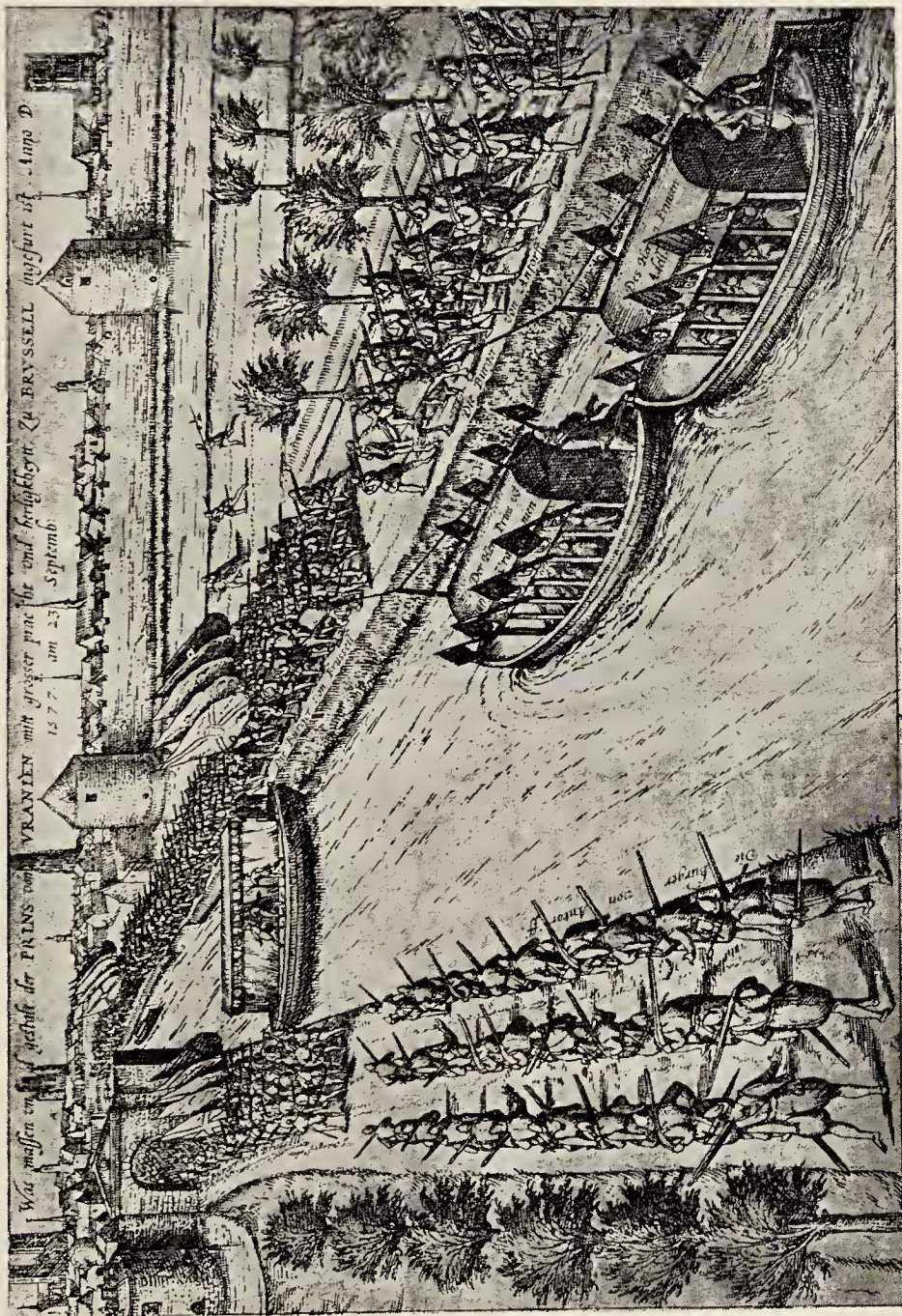
Arschot had not been long kept a prisoner, and on the 15th of December he came to Antwerp with other commissioners from the States with articles for Matthias to sign. The Archduke smiled and muttered some words of thanks with childish grace.

Papebrochius tells us that on Christmas night there was a report that sedition was on foot and that guards were posted at the Jesuits' house, and that on the Feast of St. Stephen a man broke through these guards and tried to fire an harquebus at the priest who was celebrating Mass in their church, but that he was prevented from so doing by the crowd. He boasted that he would not go away until he had killed a Jesuit, but he was thrown out. We learn from del Rio that it was no uncommon thing in Antwerp now—just as it had been in the weeks before the image-breaking—for wretches to befoul even the very altars in the churches where they knew Mass was to be sung, and we also learn that priests and monks were insulted in the streets. In November the prior of the Dominicans packed all the most valuable things his cloister owned in a coffer and sent it to Bois-le-Duc to the prior of his order there, to be sent to Germany, but it was stopped *en route* and returned to him.

On the 28th of December, Orange went to Ghent by water to make more sure of that town, attended by twenty men from each Military Guild. His reception there was magnificent. Just after Christmas six more companies of Scots arrived at Antwerp under Colonel Ogilvy, but the Spaniards had already returned to Don John. In the preceding August, Philip had been inclined to be clement, provided the States would act according to the Perpetual Edict with regard to religion and loyalty to him, but the news of the taking of Antwerp Castle had made him decide to go on with the war.¹

The year 1578 seems to begin with a General Procession of devotion, praying that God would inspire Matthias so that he might bring things to a good end. Unfortunately, the Calvinists required as much inspiration as he did, but seemed unconscious of their needs. It can hardly be said they were making any decent attempt to live contentedly with the Catholics, as they were bound to do by the Second Union of Brussels. More rumours were set afoot that barrels of gunpowder were in the Jesuits' house, and the screams of a night-wanderer falling into a ditch near their house brought a crowd from their beds to bang on their door and demand who was being done to death. The

¹ Poulet, "Granvelle," Vol. VI, p. 276.



ORANGE GOES IN TRIUMPH FROM ANTWERP TO BRUSSELS ON THE 23rd OF SEPTEMBER, 1577
FROM AN OLD PRINT

Fathers were capable of feigning sleep and the crowd dispersed, but next day they came again threatening murder, until friends and neighbours of the Fathers persuaded them to depart. Orange returned from Ghent on the 16th of January accompanied by the Military Guilds of Ghent and Termonde and two companies of citizen troops, who were feasted next day.

At this moment Don John had twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse round Namur, and the States' army was about equal in number, but was very badly provided. It lay at Wavre on the Dyle, where the States had established a fortified camp, choosing the position as one protecting Brussels from Don John and not badly placed should help be sent to him by Guise. The Protestants said that Don John and Guise would join and crush the Provinces and then invade England.

On the 7th of January, Elizabeth entered another treaty with the States-General, binding herself to lend her credit and to send troops. She asked for Flushing, Middelburg, Bruges, and Gravelines as security, but did not get them. The troops were to be commanded by John Casimir. As soon as Orange returned from Ghent, Davison went to see him and discussed with him where it would be best to disembark the English force and where the stores of provisions and munitions should be sent. Orange suggested Flushing or Antwerp. Elizabeth did not send any of the troops and the States did not get more than a small portion of the money she promised. The Scots, under Balfour and Ogilvy, and the English who came later were recruited by the States, in whose service were still some of the Germans, who continued in default of pay to "eat up" the peasants.

On the 18th of January, Matthias made his Joyous Entry into Brussels with Orange; the Count von Schwarzbouurg, Orange's brother-in-law; and Count John of Nassau. He was received as Governor-General of the Provinces under Philip, and was persuaded by the popular party to appoint Orange his Lieutenant-General.

The festivities following Matthias's reception were, however, marred by very bad news. A battle had been fought between Don John and the States at Gembloux on the 31st of January, and the latter had been severely defeated, mainly through the skill of Alexander Farnese, but to no small extent because of the want of zeal and the incompetence of the officers of the States' army. They were at best a disunited body owing to the jealousy most of them entertained of Orange, but many of them had been absent from the army that they might attend a reception given by Matthias and a wedding at Brussels.

Don John took advantage of his victory and secured Tirlemont, Diest, Arschot, Nivelles, Léau, and Louvain. Things looked very bad for the States now and haste was made to fortify the towns. Orange strengthened the garrison at Brussels and

fortified Alost and Termonde. Citizens of Antwerp were sent to join some Scots in Malines until other arrangements could be made. Lierre and Vilvoorde were strong places. Orange acted quickly and wisely during these anxious days. The surrender of Amsterdam to him somewhat revived the patriots' hopes.

Sir Roger Williams, who knew the Netherlanders well, wrote: "The humour of the nation is to bee unreasonable prowde with the least victorie . . . and deadly fearefull with the least overthrow, or at the retreit of their men of warre from their enemie"; but it proved otherwise after Gembloux. The defeat seemed to stimulate all Brabant to renewed efforts, but it showed that help must be found in England or in France. Don John had not yet enough men to lay siege to any large town, but it was feared that he would capture such places near Antwerp as Herenthals. Unfortunately, the States had no cavalry, and this deficiency not only handicapped them in the field, but furnished Elizabeth with the argument that if she sent infantry they would be at the mercy of Don John's cavalry. Cavalry were therefore sought in Germany, but Elizabeth determined not to send help until they entered the Provinces. Thirty companies of infantry were left to garrison Brussels under Count Boussu, who had now come over to the patriots, and on the 5th of February, Matthias, Orange, and Schwarzbouurg returned to Antwerp for safety, and on that night the Military Guilds and part of the eighty newly enrolled citizen companies watched before the Town House. The States-General followed next day to Antwerp and sat in St. Michael's Abbey.

On the 6th of February, at seven in the evening, four of Orange's officers went to the Jesuits' with twenty men, forced their way in, and searched for treasure and weapons alleged to be hidden there. They found nothing. Then commissioners of the States went thither and made an inventory of all their gold and silver vessels. The Fathers were forbidden to sing matins in the cloister or to distribute alms to begging monks, and all doors except one were bricked up. Inspection was made of all cloisters periodically; the monks were ordered to shave their beards, were forbidden to go outside the town to preach, and if they preached inside the town had to say nothing that might give offence to the Calvinists, and were forbidden to depart without permission from the Governor or the Margrave; but such leave was given readily to all but Jesuits and Grey Friars. No monks, or even lay brethren, from other towns were to be entertained in the cloisters.

It was decided to demand of all ecclesiastics an oath binding them to do nothing contrary to the Pacification of Ghent or the welfare of Antwerp, but to defend both. It was first presented to the canons of the Chapter of Our Lady and they submitted to

¹ "Actions of the Low Countries," p. 335.

it, perhaps under duress. It then went hurriedly round the different monasteries in the town, and the Dominicans and Carmelites were let off with a simple promise. It then went to the Grey Friars, where the Guardian answered that he was a neutral with regard to the Pacification, and that, since he and his monks had only spiritual arms, their prayers were more likely to do good than their oaths. This answer annoyed the Calvinists, and they went on to the Jesuits, who had already showed hostility to the oath. The Fathers answered that their constitution precluded them from interference in political affairs, and they refused to take the oath without the leave of their superior. After this a guard was put into the cloisters of the Grey Friars and the Jesuits; and, being Calvinists, the soldiers sat by a fire in the porch singing heretical songs and insulting Catholics on their way to church. They drew pictures on the walls which they knew would give offence.

In March the Calvinists preached at fifteen different places in the town and administered the Sacrament, and the printers began again to pour out heretical books. The Jesuits therefore secretly removed their possessions not in daily use to friends' houses, for they felt they had not a long sojourn in Antwerp before them.

On Palm Sunday there was a great tumult because the guard at the Jesuits' prevented worshippers going through to the church unless they left their arms at the porch. The Chief Burgomaster came down on hearing that both sides were arming and ordered the colonels to remove the guard, which they refused to do unless the Jesuits took the oath.

We hear now more and more of these eight colonels of the eight citizen regiments raised after the taking of the castle. They were Calvinists, usually Orange's partisans, and with the captains posed as spokesmen of the people and got a footing in the Broad Council.

Holy Week and Easter passed quietly. At the end of April, the States-General published an edict in pursuance of the Pacification of Ghent with a view to deterring anyone, outside Holland and Zeeland, from attempting anything against the Catholic religion or its exercise, and forbade preaching, marrying, baptism, and other exercise according to any new doctrines; but in May some of the captains of the citizen companies, who were notorious Calvinists, went to the Jesuits' with some of the magistrates at a time when, according to the Catholics, several important people who would not have approved of their conduct were absent from the town, and again demanded that the Fathers should take the oath, and they again declined. They returned on Whitsun Eve, and closed the house. All supposed the church would be opened for the important services next day, but no one was allowed to enter church or school. About nine o'clock one

of the magistrates went down, who was thought to be a Catholic, and ordered the soldiers to open the church, and told the Fathers to go on with their duties ; and they accordingly rang the bell and held the service and preached and celebrated Mass. But after Mass a furious mob of Calvinists attacked the church, cruelly ill-treating the Fathers, whom they hunted along the corridors, breaking down door after door in pursuit, and firing harquebuses at them. The house was soon full of armed men, and to save their lives the Jesuits consented to an immediate flight, which was all the more terrible because they had fasted and had at the moment little food.

There were fourteen Fathers, and they were all gathered in the sacristy praying when one of them remembered that the Holy Eucharist had been left in a silver ciborium on the High Altar, and he gave the soldiers the slip and returned to the church, which was now filled with frenzied heretics, and approaching the altar withdrew the ciborium on bended knee and carried it on high through the sacrilegious mob, none daring to stop him. His courage was admired even by Calvinists.

Matthias did what he could on behalf of these monks and wept for them, but a guard of soldiers hurried them to the Beerhooft, where they were put in a ship. While they waited for passports they were mercilessly chaffed by the sailors in the river, who told them they would be thrown overboard.

They were taken by water to Malines under an escort, for it was expected that otherwise they would be murdered by the Calvinists on the way ; but all of this guard were heretics, and they spared their charges nothing which could make the journey more uncomfortable. Much was said by Catholics about the cruelty of expelling these monks, but in point of fact the magistrates removed them to preserve them from the results of the hatred of the people. After their departure numbers of Calvinists visited their empty house, and a wit hung before a window the little bundle of straw bound to a white rod which always intimated that there was plague within. Catholics said that on this day, although there had hitherto been no plague in the town, it appeared in this person's own house.

On the 21st of May fifteen Grey Friars who had refused to take the oath were sent after the Fathers.

The Protestants always said that the Jesuits had been much enriched by the plunder taken at the sack of Malines in 1572, which the Spanish soldiers had given them to soothe their consciences, and also by bequests made by such soldiers killed at the siege of Harlem and elsewhere for the same purpose.

After their departure the House of Aachen was used as the meeting-place of the War Council, then formed. The Calvinists used the church for their meetings, and in the forecourt was a booth at which heretical books were exposed for sale ; so by the

end of the summer of 1578 the Calvinists were completely masters of the town.

The Grey Friars at Bruges and Ghent fared even worse than those at Antwerp. Several lay brothers at Bruges were arrested and charged with abominable offences and were burnt or flogged. At Ghent four Grey Friars and one Austin Friar were burnt on a similar charge and several flogged and all four Mendicant Orders were banished. Harlem, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Douay, and St. Omer expelled all ecclesiastics.

The departure of the Grey Friars and Jesuits seems to have quieted the town, and two executions took place in connexion with the disturbances.

It is hard to tell how far the religious orders were guilty of the crimes imputed to them. Their worst treatment was experienced at Ghent, where cloisters were pillaged all through the summer; but outside that district it was not generally approved in Brabant or Flanders. The Calvinists could not be induced to look on the Catholics—and certainly not the ecclesiastics—as being anything but well-disposed towards Philip; and in its turn the treatment which the ecclesiastics received in Ghent led Catholics, especially in the Walloon Provinces, to feel that the only road to peace and security was by the return of the country to complete loyalty to the King. In Antwerp, Orange put as many Calvinists as possible into posts and offices, and many returned from exile. A new spirit had become noticeable among the Antwerp people. Since Orange's return the Calvinists had plucked up so much courage that Protestant Englishmen thought that God had determined to begin among them the preservation of the country. They not only felt secure from attack by Catholics, but watched for an opportunity of making theirs the sole religion in the town. On the 22nd of June, a Request was presented to Matthias and the Council of State which had been set up for the free exercise of Calvin's religion, which would be against the Pacification of Ghent; but Holland and Zealand were the two provinces which supplied the best soldiers and sailors, and most of the munitions and money, and so the exercise of the religion they preferred could hardly be suppressed where it was desired to oppose Philip. The Calvinists professed that they did not seek to abolish the Catholic religion in the Southern Provinces or to take the Catholics' property or in any way to injure them.

In the States of Brabant the prelates and the nobles urged that union in one religion—and that religion must be the old one—for the purpose of expelling the enemy should be their chief aim, which had been their demeanour at the time of the signing of the Pacification of Ghent; but the Calvinists of Antwerp, led by the colonels, were for what they called a Religious Peace. They contended that two religions could exist side by side even

in the same town, but there were those who felt that if freedom to indulge in the exercise of the New Religion were granted the Catholics would be alienated from the patriots' cause, and that if, on the other hand, it was refused, the common people, who were mainly Calvinist and had arms, would pillage the Catholics and the ecclesiastics. The common people in Antwerp felt that such success as had been gained against Philip had been by their efforts, and that now they were denied the public exercise of the religion for which they had fought. On the 7th of July, another Request to the same effect was presented to the Archduke, and on the 22nd of that month consent was given.

Orange had hoped that there would be no open profession of the New Religion before the winter and had tried to induce the ministers not to preach publicly till then; but there were preachers not known to the authorities who could not be controlled.

The Religious Peace, by which the exercise of the two religions, old and new, was to be tolerated, was published at Antwerp on the 29th of August, 1578. The Calvinists were given permission to preach, sing psalms, administer the Sacrament, marry, baptize, and so on at the Jesuits' church, in the castle chapel, called that of the Moabites, having been built by Alva for his Spaniards, and in some other chapels. They might bury their dead as they liked in the churchyards, but privately. Their ministers were to be approved by the magistrates; Sundays and feast days were to be observed and on fast days the Calvinists were not to eat or sell meat. The Calvinists bargained for themselves as those who followed the New Religion, but naturally the Lutherans soon claimed similar rights, and they were given St. George's Church, the Burg Church, that of the Carmelites in Tanners Street, and the Cloth-shearers' Chapel. In October the Calvinists made further demands and were given the churches of the Grey Friars and the Dominicans¹ (excepting the choir—which was reserved for the Catholics) and St. Andrew's. Thomas Thielt, once Abbot of St. Bernard's, began to preach Calvin's doctrine in the Dominicans' at once, even before the partition screen to cut off the choir had been built, and then in St. Andrew's. It was decreed that not only Orange and the magistrates, but the deans of the Military Guilds, the colonels, and the captains should take oath to protect the Catholic religion, the Catholics, and their property, but these military commanders refused, saying it was outside their duty. In October several women petitioned Matthias to let the Grey Friars remain in possession of their cloister and to forbid the exercise of Calvinist rites in their church, but they were told to get back to their distaffs and were hooted by

¹ The Dominicans had left the town voluntarily. They had completed their new church (now St. Paul's) in 1571, in which year the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary was instituted in it in honour of the victory at Lepanto.

boys in the street. The Catholics boasted that they were still ten to one in the town and that if there was trouble the Lutherans would join them against the Calvinists, as they had done in 1567. There was, indeed, a rumour in Paris in November, 1578, that the Catholics, Lutherans, and Anabaptists in Antwerp had actually joined forces against the Calvinists and that many of the latter were leaving the town in consequence of their decline in power, and that Orange would have to follow them.

Granvelle had before this time expressed this opinion of the Calvinists, which was perhaps not totally amiss: when they were in a bad way they said it was wrong to resort to force in matters of religion, but when they themselves had the power to use it they did so, and became more like dogs than Christians, but were always clever like Machiavelli and the Strozzi.¹

All matters concerning religion were reported from Antwerp to Elizabeth, whose interest in the cause of the States had much increased after their defeat at Gembloux. She still wanted a town or two as security, and so forlorn were the States that it seemed they would soon be willing to give her any of them, excepting always Flushing.

Reiters were being levied in Germany, and money for them was made over by exchange in Antwerp, the Broad Council lending the States-General one hundred and twenty thousand gulden for that purpose. This money was to be raised in this way: one hundred and twenty persons were to find one thousand gulden each, and each of them was to get contributions from four others, repayment being guaranteed by the States-General. Before the summer was out many had fled rather than submit to this forced loan and some went over to Don John. Taxes on house property and land were imposed for the purpose of raising money to fortify the town. Attempts were made to reduce extravagance in dress, or at all events to turn it to the profit of the people, and a sumptuary law was passed regarding the wearing of silks. The magistrates pointed out that as things were you could not tell the mistress from the maid, nor the lady from the burgher's wife, and the new law set up a scale of taxes for those who desired to wear velvet and satin, from prince, bishop, and abbot downwards, from one hundred pounds to three. The wearers of gold chains, jewels, gold and silver lace, and such ornaments were taxed in the same way.

Elizabeth was not willing to send men—or even to permit any to go over unless under a junior officer—and in March the States were bitterly disappointed with her for not coming up to her engagements, and Don John was winning the smaller towns daily. The Provinces were “marvellously dismayed,” and many thought it would be better to make peace than trust to Elizabeth any longer. Léau fell to Don John; but an attempt

¹ Pouillet, “Granvelle,” Vol. X, p. 234.

on Maastricht failed. The States' army was lying in the spring of 1578 between Herenthals and Lierre, under Count Boussu. In March, 1578, the Count de Lalaing, no longer Commander-in-Chief, invited the Duke of Anjou into the Provinces.

Elizabeth had not been able to raise the hundred thousand pounds promised to the States on her credit in Antwerp, and she thought of trying to get it in Germany. Her help was more to be valued than any other, for it seemed certain that she did not want to seize any part of the Provinces to hold permanently for herself.

On the 20th of April, Orange went again to Ghent. His duties as Lieutenant-General kept him hard at work when at Antwerp in the Council of the State, in the War Council, in the States-General, and at conferences in private lodgings. The negotiations with England went on through the summer, but what to do was beyond all knowledge. The States had to get help from someone, and Orange would now have preferred it from England, seeing none would come from the Emperor; but the nobles and Catholics would have preferred it from France. The English Council could not make up its mind. If England and the Provinces joined together and yet were defeated it would be the worse for England, for Philip would certainly fall on her; but he might do that anyway. If England helped the Provinces France might help Philip; if England did not help the Provinces the field was open to the French to do so, and already Anjou was collecting troops on the frontier. Elizabeth still hated the idea of helping subjects against their lawful sovereign, for such action would justify many rebels at home; yet it certainly would not do to stand aside and see the Provinces overwhelmed by Spain.

A memorandum by Doctor Wilson, dated the 30th of March, 1578, shows that "to leave them is our undoing as well as theirs, and therefore it were best to aid them for our own sakes except we be disposed to perish with them, which is not credible."¹ In May, commissioners from Anjou came to Antwerp to continue negotiations and left on the 20th, by which time Orange felt compelled to lean towards France. On the 29th, the States-General agreed to invite John Casimir, Count Palatine, to come into the Provinces to take military command, a step which was really taken at Elizabeth's suggestion, who felt that by making him a kind of Lieutenant-General to her in the Provinces she would make him counterbalance Anjou. She sent Cobham and Walsingham to Antwerp at the end of June, and they were received outside St. George's Gate by Egmont and Chimay and other noble personages, and were escorted to their lodging in the English House. Guns fired salutes on the walls to welcome them, and as they passed the Meer Bridge the citizens on guard

¹ Kervyn, "Relations," etc., Vol. X, p. 383.

there cheered, for it was thought that Elizabeth was now going to send men and money.¹ In point of fact, these ambassadors were instructed to bring about a treaty between Don John and the States if possible, and if this could not be done to find out the strength of the patriots; and it was only if they should be convinced that even with the help of Casimir the States could not withstand Don John that they were to promise troops from England. If troops were promised the town and castle of Sluis and the town of Flushing must be given as security, and at the end of the war the States must pay for the upkeep of the necessary garrisons. Unfortunately, the popularity of Elizabeth's two emissaries was eclipsed before they left the town by her failure to meet on the Bourse the liabilities she had undertaken for the States—a course due entirely to her avarice and deprecated by Burghley—and the magistrates threatened to arrest Cobham and Walsingham. These two had interviews with Don John, but nothing came of them, and in the meantime Anjou moved over the frontier into Mons.

Elizabeth hoped that when Casimir arrived the States-General would break with Anjou, but they did not. The latter took the title of "Defender of the liberty of the Netherlands against the tyranny of the Spaniards and their adherents." Elizabeth did not object to this title, but she would not hear of his becoming king.

In June news came of the loss of Limburg, which lessened the likelihood of help coming from Germany; but joy spread through the town at a report that the castle of Limburg had been blown up and that Farnese, Mondragon, and others had been killed, and that Don John had gone mad on hearing of it. It was said the false rumour had been put about by Orange to keep up men's spirits.

Matthias gave a banquet to the English ambassadors on the 7th of July, at which were Schwarzbouurg, the Emperor's ambassador, Orange, Arschot, and Egmont; and on the 13th Orange entertained them at his lodging in the castle, to which he had removed. On this same day Matthias went in his coach with Egmont and Boussu to inspect the States' camp at Lierre, ten miles away, and stayed there two days, and the English ambassadors joined him. The people had been grumbling all through the summer that they paid for an army which did not fight, and as a result the command had determined to seek the battle which was fought on the 1st of August at Rimenan. It ended in a considerable victory for the States and checked a move which Don John was making against the troops which covered Antwerp.

Elizabeth's shortcomings over her bills had greatly embarrassed the States, and they could not pay the garrisons, and

¹ "Mémoires Anonymes," Vol. II, p. 296.

many of their soldiers pillaged the country districts of beasts and grain and sold them to the Antwerpens. The States were really rich enough to carry on the war for several years—much richer than Philip was—but ready money was very difficult to come by. All the money which Elizabeth could or would send was paid to *reiters* to serve under John Casimir and not to States' troops, as at first agreed. Even at this she would not do as much as she had promised. Walsingham heard what was said in Antwerp about her conduct, and before the battle of Rimenan he thought that if she persisted in her refusal to be more reasonable she would drive the States into the arms of France. But there was more courage in the people after the battle than there had been at Easter, and Walsingham said half a dozen defeats would not take it away, and that they had fortified their towns so well that Philip was too old to see the end of the war. At the same time this sagacious Englishman stated, after daily intercourse with him at Antwerp, that Orange meant never to be subject to Philip, and that he would have preferred to join the Provinces to the Empire, and only inclined towards France as far as would serve his turn ; and that, although he gave out to the contrary, he would rather enjoy the country himself than allow the French, the Spaniards, the English, or the Germans to possess it.

On the last day of July, the Princess of Orange bore a third daughter. It was an anxious moment, for news of the expected battle was awaited, and Orange seems to have regained popularity—perhaps the birth of a princess helped him to do so—and the people were filled with fear for his life when he walked from a banquet through the streets with Chimay, the son of Arschot, known to be unfriendly to him. On the day of the battle the ambassador of the King of France, coming from Mons, was stopped at St. George's Gate and only he and two or three attendants were admitted, for the people distrusted the coming and going of so many ambassadors while no peace resulted, and they thought, or pretended to think, that most of the councillors were in favour of Don John.

Casimir reached Lierre and Matthias went to welcome him on the 20th of August, and on the 28th, the Alliance between Anjou and the States was published with great solemnity before St. Michael's, in the presence of the members of the States-General, Orange, and Arschot, and on the next day Arschot, Chimay, and others went on an embassy to Mons as representatives of the States-General.

It was just at this time that the Religious Peace was reached at Antwerp. Such a concession to the Calvinists in the Southern Provinces was not contemplated at the time of the Union of Brussels, and the Catholics became anxious and suspicious just when unity was essential to the common cause. The wisdom of

it would only appear if and when the Protestants used the freedom properly and respected the feelings of others—if, in fact, they showed more generosity than they had experienced. In the meantime some outbreak was daily expected.

In the middle of August, Elizabeth became alarmed about Anjou at Mons and decided to send ten or twelve thousand men, provided the States recognized that her help was conditional on the sovereignty not being given to him, and, of course, she still demanded security ; but the matter was not settled when the States concluded their agreement with him.

At the end of August, Casimir appeared before Malines with twelve thousand men, for the most part in the pay of Elizabeth. Orange had a very poor opinion of him, and in the event he failed entirely to exercise discipline over his *reiters*, who ravaged and burned as if they had been in the enemy's country. He had led his army from Germany to Zutphen and Doesburg and thence to Lierre. The pay of his troops was in arrears before he arrived at Malines, and their poverty was, perhaps, some excuse for their conduct and certainly accounted for their audacity. They even seized and pillaged the boat which went daily between Brussels and Antwerp on the Willebroeck Canal. One day some of them were robbing under the walls of Antwerp, and Matthias, at the entreaty of the inhabitants, went out and tried every means to make them stop their ravages and restore what they had taken ; but they laughed at him and threatened him and he had to flee. Orange brought thirty companies of infantry and two hundred horse from Holland and Germany to hold the pillagers in check, and the people called for the departure of such pests ; but it was only in October they moved to Ghent.

The monthly cost of the States' army soon amounted to eight hundred thousand gulden, and the contributions to it were not regularly paid, especially by the Walloon Provinces. In six months the Government could only collect four hundred thousand gulden, and that mostly in Antwerp. The other Provinces—excluding Holland and Zealand—did not give fifty thousand in six months. What could be expected from the troops but mutiny ? The pity of it was all the greater because the Government could find everything for the army excepting money.

During August, Orange's brother-in-law, Schwarzbourg, had been at Don John's camp offering the Emperor's intervention, but on the 4th of September he returned to Antwerp, having effected nothing, to the disgust of the people, who did not believe any sincere efforts after peace were being made on behalf of the Emperor, and that if they were they would not get anything better than the Peace made between the King of France and Coligny. Towards the middle of September, Elizabeth's failure to provide pay for Casimir's troops caused the feeling in Antwerp and in his

camp that she had abandoned the States, and he had to send his plate and jewels to Antwerp to be pawned for ten or twelve thousand gulden for the men's pay; and things were made worse by the appearance of plague among the soldiers. Cobham and Walsingham, who were still in Antwerp, tried to explain that their mistress was only waiting to see what the attitude of the States towards Anjou would be. It was some comfort to feel that Don John's army was also unpaid and was suffering even more from disease. If Elizabeth had sent plenty of money at this moment the Spaniards might have been driven from the country, but not being able to get Flushing or Sluis as security she haggled for plate, rings, or jewels. The truth is that she did not like the rise to power of the Calvinists, feeling there had been too much revolution about their movements since the driving out of the Spaniards from the castles; but a loan from her of eight thousand pounds at this time prevented the States' camp being broken up.

On the 1st of October, Don John died near Namur, and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, the son of Margaret of Parma, whose wedding had taken place at Brussels in 1565.

The Spaniards held Luxemburg, the greater part of Limburg and Namur, and there was much discussion in Farnese's camp as to what the next move should be; but preparations were being made in Spain for an invasion of Portugal and no supplies were sent, and they had to postpone their offensive until the spring.

It had been arranged that in October Anjou should go to Malines to take up his residence, but the people of Antwerp, as that town lay between them and Brussels and their way by road and canal could be cut, would not trust a Frenchman there.¹

Sir Roger Williams saw something of Antwerp in the autumn and wrote to Leicester that it now thought itself another Geneva and did not care for friend or foe, but hated all soldiers and was not any too fond of Orange. Dathenus and the ministers at Ghent soon got Casimir under their thumbs, and their followers behaved in a manner which could only bring the hatred of the Walloons and other Catholics on all who had departed from the old faith. This trouble at Ghent upset all Elizabeth's hopes and plans for Casimir and caused the party called Malcontents to increase rapidly. In the middle of November part of the States' army was put in garrison and part was left in the field near Liège and in the villages round Antwerp for the winter. The commander, Boussu and the officers retired to Antwerp. It was felt before Christmas that the Southern Provinces were being led to favour Farnese by the doings of the Calvinists at Ghent, and plots were expected in Antwerp against Orange, made by Catholics and Malcontents. There was some sort of disturbance

¹ "Mémoires Anonymes," Vol. III, p. 153.

in Antwerp in November, in consequence of which States' troops seized strategic points in the town, and all were ordered to stay indoors while a house-to-house search was made, even of such people as Schwarzbouurg, in whose lodging some armed men were found, who, he said, were of his retinue, with which answer the authorities were content. The names of all the strangers found in houses were taken, whether they were courtiers or merchants, amounting in all to about two thousand, and some four hundred arrests were made of those who could not give a good explanation of their presence or were suspected of being concerned in some treasonable plot against the inhabitants, the nature of which was not disclosed. The prisoners were put in the Tapestry Pand, where the French Theatre now stands, and there questioned by the colonels, after which some were released and others put in the Bakers' Tower on the quay. Among the latter was one Philippe Rapaille of Tournay who was charged with sedition and defaming the Prince of Orange and other nobles.

Soon after this Orange went again to Ghent to try to quiet the Calvinists there. His partisans said the Malcontent nobles were to blame in that they spoke against him, and that the rumours which such people spread in Antwerp were almost as menacing to the town's tranquillity as the whisperings of those who plotted treason. A man named Eustace Roghe, who had been in Champagney's service, was arrested by the Margrave outside the house in which the States-General met, on the charge of having said at the English House and elsewhere that the Marquis de Havré and certain members of the States-General were traitors. Orange never trusted any member of the House of Croy—Arschot, Havré, or Chimay. One night while Havré was in Antwerp the guard refused to let him go out of the gates, for all saw him as one who favoured the Spaniards, but none could be allowed to say so openly.

Not only was there jealousy between Orange and Catholic nobles, but there was mutual suspicion between Casimir and Boussu, the respective commanders of the forces raised for Elizabeth and for the States, and Orange joined Boussu in his dislike of Casimir.

Whatever was the nature of the plot at Antwerp in November, there was something of the same sort afoot in Brussels and Malines, and it was prevented by similar measures. Those who did not love Orange said that, like Margaret of Parma, he had his inner council, composed of such as Marnix de St. Aldegonde and the minister Villiers.

In November the Spaniards sent parties to scour the open country from Brussels to Lierre, and they drove off cattle and burnt farms without any attempt being made to stop them. Although English statesmen who knew the Netherlands calculated that the country was rich enough to maintain the war for

ten years, yet the system of raising and expending money was so bad that mutinous, unpaid States' troops seemed during this winter a greater menace to the country than did the Spaniards. Just before Christmas, the peasants between Termonde and Alost ran to arms and drove companies of them out of the Termonde quarter, and other bands were driven from Guelders to Borgerhout, Berchem, and Kiel, and had to be fed there by the Antwerpens, who were in terror of such neighbours. Some feared that noblemen treacherous to the States would hire them and capture the town.¹

On the 21st of December, Boussu died at Antwerp, where he was in winter quarters, after a few days' illness. Some said they had lost a great man, but others that he had done little with the forces he commanded.

At Christmas the news was brought by Havré from Mons that Anjou had retired to France. His departure was quickly followed by that of Casimir, who went to England, and there being no States' army in the field Farnese determined to take the offensive.

Having done what he could to pacify the Calvinists at Ghent, Orange returned to Antwerp on the 20th of January, but his work in Flanders had come too late, and the Southern Provinces showed their aversion from the Calvinists. Hainaut, Douay, Lille, and Orchies entered the Union of Arras in January, 1579, to which Orange responded by forming the Union of Utrecht. The former urged the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and in the course of the spring led nine Provinces to return to obedience while the latter advocated continued resistance, and embraced in time Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelders, Friesland, Overijssel, Groningen, and the towns of Flanders and Brabant.

On the 9th of January, Mondragon captured Carpen between Cologne and Julich. The news of this caused consternation in Antwerp, for the people saw themselves cut off from Cologne and the Rhine. They collected on the Market Place and shouted against Matthias and his Court, and threatened to throw the magistrates from the windows of the Town House. Another search for arms was made, and the gates remained closed for three days. It was this tumult which brought Orange back from Ghent. The possession of Carpen enabled the Spaniards to draw supplies from Cologne, Aix, and Cleves and to isolate Maastricht. Farnese then crossed the Meuse at Ruremonde and entered Brabant, encountering the outposts of the States' army almost daily. The troops in the service of the States in the Antwerp quarter consisted of twenty-six companies of infantry—English, Scots, and French—and were still in winter quarters at Borgerhout. Farnese felt he could defeat this force

¹ "Mémoires Anonymes," Vol. III, p. 229.

and give a lesson to the Antwerpers, who could see what went on from their walls.

Between Ranst and Borgerhout was a plain on which he drew up his army consisting of Spanish musketeers and German *lansquenets* and *reiters*. Farnese had the larger force, but the States troops were entrenched.

On the 2nd of March, at daybreak, he attacked two detachments of States' troops who held positions half a mile outside Borgerhout, and carrying these he fought his way into the village. The States' troops retired under the guns of Antwerp, after very severe fighting, in which they lost two or three hundred. Farnese claimed to have lost only eight killed and forty wounded. Borgerhout was burnt, being set on fire by the States' troops before retiring. Matthias and Orange watched the battle from the walls.

Farnese retired from before Antwerp, burning many houses as he went—including that of Gaspar Schetz at Grobbendonck—to Herenthals, and thence to Maastricht.

On the day after the battle seventy-two companies of citizen troops went out to Borgerhout in consequence of a report that the Spaniards were about to make another attack, and one is led to wonder why they did not go out the day before. Probably it was because they could not be relied on in the field.

Orange had fortified Maastricht and put a garrison into it of twelve thousand men, mostly English, French, and Scots. The siege of this town was almost as eventful as those of Harlem and Leyden and began in the middle of March.

The attack before Antwerp had perhaps been a demonstration, but it is more likely that Farnese expected to benefit by some treachery. At all events, the result induced several towns in the south to submit. Schwarzbourg was still going backwards and forwards between Don John and the States-General in the hope of arranging a peace to embrace all the Provinces, but without success. Matthias, Orange, the States-General, and the Council of State held long sittings, at which they discussed what attitude should be adopted towards those Provinces which threatened to yield to Philip and ambassadors were sent to Artois, Lille, and Hainaut in the hope of dissuading them from making a separate peace. To persuasion they added such compulsion as might come from the arrest and detention of merchandise, especially fish in Lent, going to those Provinces. Arschot, Havré, Lalaing, and Egmont, who were never considered loyal to the States, for their part, looked on the States-General, while sitting at Antwerp, as no more than the mouthpiece of Orange, of whom they were jealous and whose ambition they hated.

On the 17th of May, Hainaut, Artois, Lille, Douay, and Orchies signed a treaty of reconciliation with Philip, by which the

Catholic religion and the sovereignty of the King were to be maintained, their privileges were to be ratified, the Pacification of Ghent confirmed, as well as the Union of Brussels and the Perpetual Edict, and the foreign soldiers withdrawn from them. It was at this time that Philip at length accepted the mediation of Rudolph II and a Peace Conference was opened at Cologne. But Orange was not anxious that it should produce anything of importance, for his fear was that the bulwark for the Northern Provinces, into which he had made Flanders, Brabant, and Maastricht, would collapse.

He had no hope of relieving Maastricht, but thought a long siege would postpone the investment of Antwerp, which town in its turn could keep Holland and Zealand safe for many months. When Arschot and the other deputies started to Cologne there was much murmuring among the people that the relief of Maastricht was far more important than the conference and that nothing was being done about it. They cried loudly for it and that the town of Antwerp should join the Union of Utrecht (which it had not yet done), and their patriotism resulted in a house-to-house collection of voluntary gifts or loans and about one hundred and forty thousand gulden were collected; but judging by past experience the contributors feared the money would not be properly spent, and they would not trust the ordinary commissioners with it. It had often been found that a time-honoured custom had prevailed and that a man charged to raise a company of two hundred men had only raised sixty and had pocketed the balance of pay. Yet on the 20th of May there was a mob outside the Town House demanding what had happened to the proceeds of this loan, for the troops had not received it; and eventually the colonels took charge of the money themselves. Everything was muddle and confusion. How was it, men asked, that after Mass Catholics sat down to dinner with Calvinists, who were regarded as heretics and were excommunicated by the Pope?

The accounts of the condition of the States' army at this time were very bad, and yet a leader like La Noue could have done anything with such troops had they been given their pay with fair regularity.

A fortnight after the fight at Borgerhout some two hundred Englishmen of Cavendish's regiment came before the house in which Matthias, Orange, the Council of State, and States-General were gathered, at the Dryhoek or Triangle by Guesthouse Street, and demanded the seven or eight months' pay due to them. The people were disgusted that men who had fought so well at Borgerhout should have been so badly treated. After conferring with Orange and some of the Council the Margrave went out to them under a guard of citizen soldiers. Some members of the States-General especially the abbots, were afraid to leave the

building, and the Englishmen stood in the street swearing they would have their pay or a passport home. They were appeased for the moment, but a day or two afterwards a number of them came back again with some of Sir John Norris's men calling for pay. They were encouraged in this conduct by the news that some money had recently been paid out to the French and Scotch troops, and this time they had to be dispersed by Orange's arquebusmen and Matthias's bodyguard. But they felt there was a great deal of sympathy with them and would not rely on the fresh promises made, so that after a few days some twenty-four of them came ashore from the boats in the Scheldt, in which they lived in poverty and misery, and the Military Guilds and citizens on guard at the river-gate did not dare to stop them. They entered the town and found the Abbot of St. Michael's on his way home from a meeting of the States-General, led him on board ship and kept him prisoner, feeding him on what poor rations they had themselves, until the next day when Orange and Cavendish promised they should be paid. The people of Antwerp seem to have had no pity for this ecclesiastic. We are told children howled after him in the street. After this affair Antwerp was regarded as a "place unsure" for the States-General to meet in.

In April boats and wagons going from Antwerp to Brussels, Malines, and Ghent were robbed on the road, and it was supposed to be the work of the unpaid English and Scotch soldiers. The usual May Day processions to the suburbs were forbidden, because some disturbance might arise outside the town, and yet these poor fellows were recognized as the best troops in the States' service, and would do anything if properly treated and well led, and some of them expressed regret that they were driven to such bad conduct by hunger and need. There was at one time every probability that the peasants would be driven to rebel. In Brabant no one dared to travel alone. Some French companies in the middle of February slaughtered two or three hundred peasants at Temswicke, a village three or four leagues from Antwerp, and the country near the town was so laid bare that food became scarce. In February a sheep cost four pounds. If bodies of troops had to go through the town it had to be by not more than two hundred at a time, and through the wickets of St. George's Gate and of the Beerhoft on the quay. Under no circumstances would the colonels admit a garrison of the Scots, English, or French.

At the end of May we come to a most important event, which showed how right those were who urged that the old and the new religions could not live peaceably side by side in Antwerp. The Religious Peace of the preceding year might have been supposed to guarantee to the Catholics the peaceful enjoyment even of such ceremonies as processions, in which they somewhat

ostentatiously paraded the streets. A procession was to be held on Ascension Day, but the temper of the Calvinists was such that the magistrates urged the advisability of holding it only within the precincts of Our Lady's Church. Ascension Day fell on the 28th of May.

The first to leave the church by the west door were the Boggaerds, and then came the other orders of monks and friars. At the procession's rear were the Archduke Matthias, the members of the Council of State, of the Council of Finances, and of the States-General, all carrying lighted tapers.

The head of the procession began to move out of the churchyard into the street at a point called the Molengat, but the way was barred by the watch, acting under orders of the magistrates to confine the procession to the precincts; the Catholics wanted to go along Brewers Street, and the presence of the Catholic Archduke at their festival seems to have enticed them into disastrous over-confidence. Some Italian Catholics drew rapiers and would have forced a way through, and the watch lost their tempers and resorted to force. Half the procession had left the church, and there was a stampede in which several were trodden under foot and one or two were killed. A large crowd soon collected round the churchyard, and the clergy and Catholics—including the Archduke and his train—were shut up in the church, excepting some who had thrown away their tapers and robes and fled before the doors were shut on them. The neighbouring streets rang with cries of "*Paapen uit! Paapen uit!*" ("Out with the priests!").

Orange soon appeared and was able to rescue the Archduke and his friends, who ran home to their lodgings as quickly as they could; but the ecclesiastics were shut up in the church for three hours while a discussion went on as to what should be done with them. Orange, the magistrates, and the colonels wished to protect them, but the people demanded that all clergy—excepting the Cell-brothers, who nursed the sick and had regained popularity—should be expelled. This demand was at first refused, but there appeared to be no other course open at present, and to make a beginning all the ecclesiastics who had taken part in the procession, numbering about one hundred and twenty, were put in boats at the Beerhoft and sent away to Rupelmonde.

Soon afterwards a concordat was reached with the Catholics in the town (12th of June), and they were allowed to use three churches—the Cathedral, St. James's, and St. Walburga's—and the ecclesiastics, excepting the mendicant orders and certain canons and secular clergy, were allowed to return. Such parts of the churches of St. Andrew and St. George as they did not already use were then handed over to the Protestants. All the churches remained closed until the 20th of June. Back

came the Abbot of St. Michael's and his monks, Peter Pot's men, and all the nuns who had fled—those of the Hospital, of the Third Order of St. Francis, the Victorines, the White Sisters, the Black Sisters, the Falcontines, and the Poor Sisters of St. Clara. Later the Carmelites and the Boggaerds were allowed to return. Among the secular clergy specially excluded from the town was the Dean, Roger de Taxis. It need hardly be said that public processions of Catholics were forbidden.

Ecclesiastics were in future debarred from taking part in civil matters but had to pay taxes; all preachers had to take oath to the magistrates; both old and new religions were taken under the protection of the magistrates and a new Religious Peace was set up. Sundays and the most important feast and fast days were to be observed and no one was to work publicly or open shop on them. For some time there had been complaints that many handicraftsmen worked at their trades on Sundays and holy days, and that pictures, books, songs, medicines, and mercery were put up for sale in booths on the churchyard and near the Bourse; draymen, too, drove through the streets.

Many more Walloons were alienated from the States by the Ascension Day affair and signed the Union of Arras. The Count of Egmont went over to Philip. In the summer Charles de Gavre, Heer van Frésin, a member of the Council of State and Commissary-General of Supplies to the States' army was arrested in Antwerp on the charge of corresponding with certain nobles of Hainaut, and of planning to help Philip's cause in Antwerp, and he was kept prisoner first in his lodging on the great churchyard, then in the Steen, to save him from the fury of the people, and finally he was sent to the castle at Breda. His treachery was discovered through his messenger being captured one June evening by the guard while going out of a water-gate on his way to Mons. The Marquis de Havré was suspected of similar dealings and was now so unpopular that he did not dare to leave his lodging, which was near the Kipdorp Gate, and that gate was kept shut for fear of what he might be planning. The citizens thought that most of the courtiers round Matthias were traitors, and that the same term might be applied to the members of the Council of State, Privy Council, Council of Finances, and even of the States-General. In the middle of June, 1579, they distrusted Orange and St. Aldegonde as well. The mob was so revengeful and had so good a memory that it sought for that Captain Brecht who had played an important part twelve years before against the rebels and he had to stay at Matthias's Court for protection.

The States-General, Matthias, and Orange did all they could to succour Maastricht, but now that the Walloon Provinces were falling away the contributions of money became smaller and the chances of the troops being paid became more and more

remote. Orange went to the garden of the Archers' Guild and begged for one hundred thousand écus from an assembly of the Military Guilds. They answered that they were ready to render all due obedience but that they would not give any more money unless they saw that some good would come of it, and they said that it was time such great expense and so much misery should cease.

Farnese made his first attack on Maastricht in April and took it on the 29th of June and the news caused turmoil in Antwerp. On the 22nd of June, a man in peasant's dress had been brought before the States-General who said he had come from Maastricht with news that the town was in great danger and was in want of men. Orange asked the Broad Council for one quarter of the revenue of the goods of citizens and three florins on each hearth; but the Council proved tired of such demands and said that Matthias and Orange did not carry on public affairs properly but "dissimulated," and that every one was being ruined. In the last two or three months Antwerp alone had contributed over eight hundred thousand gulden—much more than her share.

On the fall of Maastricht, Antwerp became a frontier town against Philip, and it was at last resolved to enter the Union of Utrecht, and this was done on the 29th of July, 1579.

Recent events had increased Orange's unpopularity: books, pamphlets, and lampoons were published, and, as he told his friends over his wine, his own weapons were turned against him. He was quoted as having promised to relieve Maastricht if given money for the purpose and more than he had asked for had been given. At the same time Malines went over to the Spaniards and by August there was no town in Brabant excepting Antwerp which contributed anything to the States' treasury.

The citizens were always on the tip-toe of expectation about the treatment of the nobles arrested on charges of treason, thinking that too much leniency was shown them and fearing that some whom they regarded as great traitors might be allowed to escape. They thought also that the Spanish prisoners of war were often released when they ought not to be, and some of them who fell into their hands after the news came of the massacre of the inhabitants of Maastricht by Spaniards were infamously treated. Three Spanish prisoners who had been taken at the fight at Borgerhout were brought from Cantecroy in a wagon and were being taken through the streets to the Steen when they were pelted with stones by children and kicked and buffeted by sailors and workmen and then thrown into the river. One who tried to save himself by swimming was fired at with an arquebus. On this occasion the mob very nearly got at de Frésin, who was in the Steen, and it was resolved to send him away.

The first reports of the discussions at Cologne arrived at the

end of July, but met with little attention, for people said the Conference was the work of Spaniards and Catholics who hoped to waste time and disunite the Provinces.

By the end of the first week in August, Orange felt that the loss of Maastricht had brought so much discredit on him and unpopularity that he might be turned out of Antwerp. A great deal of his unpopularity and of the people's suspicion of the members of the States-General was unearned and unjust and was caused by calamities which arose only from the falling off of contributions as provinces and towns went over to the enemy. The States-General declared their confidence in Orange, but the people had no confidence in the States-General, and kept on asking what happened to all the money that was contributed, but they had no idea how little or how much it was. Their army had been victorious once or twice in 1578, but now did nothing, and they wished the arrears of pay to be produced and a campaign begun.

The error of the people in their calculations that a large sum was received from contributions is shown by the fact that it was found necessary to reduce the allowance made to Matthias as so little was coming in.

On the 4th of August, one of the eight colonels, named Adam van Hulst, died at Utrecht, whither he had gone with others to treat about joining the Union of Utrecht. He was immensely popular in Antwerp, and it was freely said that he had been poisoned because he favoured entering the Union while his colleagues, at the order of the magistrates, were obstructing his efforts in the hope that some news of peace would in the meantime come from Cologne. So the people said, and added that the magistrates favoured submitting to Philip, thereby to become more secure in their offices. It was even asserted that the Lutherans favoured submission, and they found it necessary to publish a denial of the accusation. Most of the colonels and captains were no more trusted than the magistrates.

La Noue, the famous French Huguenot, had come to Antwerp from Flanders, and great was the value of his advice, but nothing could come of it in the absence of money.

The merchants and sea-captains were ordered to arm their ships, and St. Bernard's Abbey was fortified. All the vagabonds and tramps that could be found in the streets and round the town and in the Land of Waes, across the river, were collected and set to building forts. Many grumbled that when the forts were completed and fortified commandants would be put into them who would turn traitors and hand their charge over to the enemy, and that they were therefore erecting a menace rather than a protection. They strengthened the fort at Willebroeck, for it was necessary to keep the canal open so that supplies could pass

to Brussels, for Antwerp was now "the mother and nurse of all the Netherlands."

One is astonished that the ruined town had yielded money-grants for so long; but Orange's plea that he had given the greater part of his own property and his eldest son for the cause now fell on ears which were becoming deaf, and he offered to withdraw from the town. If he did so he could, he knew, continue the war in Holland and Zealand, where sat a Council which acted independently of, and was better constructed than, the States-General at Antwerp, since it represented the smaller but more united part of the Provinces; but Antwerp and Brabant were a good bulwark and Orange hoped to use them for some time yet. On the 13th of November, the Peace Conference at Cologne broke up.

The Broad Council at the end of 1579 laid a tax on land and not on the people generally, feeling they were too hardly pressed; but some of those called on to pay refused, saying the money was always squandered—much of it on banquets. Among those who had refused to pay were Jacques and Jan de la Faille, and many said such men were keeping their money to help the enemy, or to allow the lack of it to continue in order to produce mutiny in the garrisons at Brussels, Lierre, Herenthals, and Vilvoorde. In one way or another fifty thousand gulden were got together and sent to pay the garrisons to stop mutiny; but the result was bitter complaints, many saying that they were now more sweated, bled, and harassed than they had been under any other Governor. Most of the money raised was sent to the English and other troops who held Lierre and Herenthals, since these towns were the important bulwark of Antwerp. The English had mutinied in Lierre and had seized the keys of the town and the artillery and had driven off their officers. The news that the garrisons at Brussels and Willebroeck had mutinied reached Antwerp on the very day on which a splendid banquet was given by the new Amman.¹

At the end of the year the Spaniards got so near to the town as Hoogstraeten and Turnhout, but their progress also was impeded by want of money, for Philip required all his resources for the conquest of Portugal.

There were in Antwerp a number of soldiers who had been in Maastricht and were now reduced to the greatest poverty, and that too after good and loyal service. The miseries of these men resulted on the 2nd of January, 1580, in their swarming round the house in which the States-General met, some two hundred in number, until a deputation of six was admitted to meet the only three members of the States-General who had dared to attend the sitting. Promises of pay were made which sank to a definite offer of fifty patarts apiece, and the men decided

¹ "Mémoires Anonymes" are full of interest for this period.

to rush the Town House. But five or six companies of the citizen soldiers, while seeming to be going on duty as usual, managed to surround the mutineers and make them prisoners. All, however, were soon released, and some entered the town's service at ten gulden a month, though most went away in disgust. On the 23rd of January, Orange, Matthias, and Havré went by coach to Breda, Marnix de St. Aldegonde and Schwarzbouurg staying behind to look after the Prince's wife and family.

Soon came the news of the treacherous surrender of the town of Courtray to the Spaniards, and the gates of Antwerp were closed and the citizen troops kept under arms while a search was made for traitors. It was the uneasiness which this kind of news produced which resulted in a fresh image-breaking three weeks later—the great iron crucifix on the Meer Bridge and the figure of Christ in a shrine in front of St. Walburga's being thrown down; and the Protestants said the same thing ought to be done to all images.

On the evening of the 9th of April, news came that Malines had that day been recovered by the States, and there was great rejoicing, for the Spaniards had been overrunning Brabant. Matthias was soon back in Antwerp, but Orange did not return until the 21st of April. The Antwerpens gave a genuine welcome to the Prince of Epinoy, who arrived at the Beerhooft on the 26th of May and went to lodge at Jan de la Faille's house in Tanners Street. He was one of the best of the Belgian nobility.

On the 8th of July, the Prince of Condé¹ came to Antwerp with the Seigneur de Bussy, the Seigneur du Plessis-Mornay, and other Frenchmen, and was met by Orange, who was related to him through Charlotte de Bourbon, but it was noticed he was not warmly welcomed by the people.

The festivities now increased and were kept up until late hours, and the poorer Calvinists grumbled and found fault, for their religious opinions had converted them from the custom of eating and drinking heavily, noticed by Guicciardini as being that of most Netherlanders, especially the nobles, and their mode of life more resembled that of the Puritans. Indeed, most of the Calvinists were teetotallers or "would only drink when they were thirsty," and some would not even dance. They did not observe feast days, and when good Catholics were drinking in taverns and cabarets they were in their offices or shops, or at a preaching, or went for a walk. The officials complained that they did not receive as much as they used to do from those who were fined for drunkenness and assault, and not so much came from the excise on wines and beer as at one time. The Catholic clergy were said to think and talk of nothing but dinners. Matthias, Orange, Arschot, and Havré entertained each other and their friends. Banquet followed banquet, usually held between

¹ The son of the Huguenot leader killed after Jarnac.

twelve and one o'clock, after a morning's work in the States-General, the Council of State, or the Broad Council. Such feasts were not confined to the nobility, and on the 28th of February, 1580, the colonels gave a banquet to Junius (Jean de Jonghe) on his return and appointment to the office of Burgomaster, at their head-quarters in the House of Aachen.

Just as attendance at Mass by the Catholics often preceded a banquet, so some of the Calvinists went first to hear a sermon—probably by Villiers—at the Grey Friars'. This man preached on the 15th of May before Orange, Charlotte, and other lords and ladies at the castle chapel, now called the "Court Church," and there Orange's major-domo was married to a young lady of his household.

Sometimes much business was discussed at these social gatherings, and it was said Orange partly earned his name of "The Silent" by rarely disclosing secrets even after much wine.

We find Matthias, Orange, John of Nassau, the Prince of Epinoy, and a number of lords and ladies at the house of the widow de Zantfort, a league out of Antwerp. The widow was very rich, and the house was a fine one and the grounds large and lovely. The host was ostensibly Joseph, Matthias's physician, but report said the cost was really defrayed by the de Zantforts, who were among the richest merchants in Antwerp. Matthias went home on this occasion about seven o'clock, but Orange, Epinoy, and John of Nassau stayed until about midnight.

A few days after this, one of Matthias's gentlemen, the Seigneur de la Potterie, gave a banquet at the garden of the Guild of Crossbowmen, to which went Matthias, Epinoy, and many others. Noticeable among the guests was the young daughter of Hendrik van Berchem, a great beauty and a famous "toast" and much talked about, for gossips said that Champagnay—who was now a prisoner of the States at Ghent—and some of Alva's Court had been great suitors for her hand. Her father has been mentioned several times, and is referred to by Guicciardini as the head of one of the best families in Antwerp and as a learned man of good repute; but he had been a Cardinalist and always a Catholic, and was not a favourite with the Calvinists. He had often been Burgomaster, and he lived in a house near St. James's Church. This lady's arrival at the fête was quickly followed by that of Orange and his brother John, also in a coach, and there was playing of hautboys and other instruments and singing by the choristers of the Archduke's chapel—who were indispensable at every entertainment—until midnight.

But while these days were spent so pleasantly things were going badly. The States' troops were still unpaid, and Farnese was gaining one minor success after another. It was a time for economy, or at all events for an example of some self-denial.

Another wedding was that of the daughter of the Treasurer-General, to which Matthias, Orange, and Epinoy went masked. The doings of these important people were carefully watched by humble folk, who said many good patriots were feasted into treachery by Catholics, and that Arschot and the rest of the family of Croy, and others came to Antwerp, sucked up secrets where they could, filled their pockets, and then went over to the enemy. Epinoy alone of the great nobles seemed faithful. Condé would go from a consultation to a game of tennis with Orange, Epinoy, and Matthias.¹ These last three, Schwarzbourg, and the magistrates gave banquets to Condé, who came in pursuance of his plan to combine the Huguenots, the Gueux, Casimir, and Queen Elizabeth together against the Catholics.

The Antwerp people had not given a hearty welcome to Condé on his arrival, but they took more interest in him after a few days. They seemed to be attracted rather by his rank than by sympathy with his religion or political views. The French courtiers walked about the town and saw the damage done at the Spanish Fury, and strolled in the gardens and sat long hours at windows looking over the splendid town. It was a joke in Antwerp then told to strangers that with all the care spent on the grand houses in which the merchants lived one thing had always been forgotten—a gibbet on which to hang the owners, guilty of so many frauds on the poor folk. On the 18th of July, Condé went on to Holland, and a few days afterwards Matthias sent Epinoy to the States-General with his resignation, which they accepted and at the same time they deposed Philip. Matthias publicly renounced the Governor-Generalship at the Hessian House, but did not leave Antwerp until the autumn of the next year, when he went to Germany, taking with him the thanks of the States; but his salary remained unpaid. His long delay in departing is to be accounted for by the difficulty he had in paying his creditors.

On the 15th of June, 1580, Philip had set a price on Orange's head. "If the price put on his head were to persuade anyone to rid us of him," wrote Granvelle, "I think we should have made a great advance towards peace."

¹ The Antwerpens enjoyed watching tennis. They had made a court near the Tanners Tower for the Italians, and later on they made one in the grounds of St. Michael's Abbey for the French courtiers who came with the Duke of Anjou.

CHAPTER XI

THE DUKE OF ANJOU

ANTWERP had now been for some time the seat of a Court and of Government and quit of Philip's soldiers, and there had been some little hope that trade would return ; but it could not do so while the country round was being pillaged by both the enemy and unpaid States' troops or while taxation was so heavy. About this time some sea-captains sailed to Spain and Portugal and were well received and allowed to trade freely there, provided they behaved discreetly, just as if there had been no war.¹ Spanish subjects of Philip did not often find their way to Antwerp, because they were afraid of the Sea-Beggars ; but when they did so they too were left in peace, unless they forfeited the Antwerpens' confidence. Often it was found better for a merchant to assume a false name, and trading went on even after the ban against Orange, which threatened all who helped him with confiscation of goods.

In May, 1579, the magistrates forbade any commercial intercourse with Brussels, because that town had arrested the persons and merchandise of citizens and merchants of Antwerp in consequence of the nonpayment of the arrears of interest on the Funds ; and here another great hindrance to trade is to be found. The people of Brussels suggested that part of what was owed to them should be sent in victuals, of which Antwerp controlled the supply. The Welsers sold their house on the modern Place Verte in 1580, having left it some time before, and the Merchant Adventurers decided to transfer part of their Antwerp business to Emden. They had complained of new impositions after the States had got possession of the town in 1577. Much inconvenience was caused by a placard designed to alter the value of the coinage, and the traders grumbled at the loss they sustained. The gold ducat was lowered by five patarts and silver money was raised, greatly to the delight of those who had amassed a lot of it.

Catherine de Medici wished Anjou (formerly Alençon) to marry Elizabeth, or else that he should marry the Infanta when he had got the Netherlands, and so acquire a legal title to the sovereignty of them. The States-General at Antwerp had often discussed an invitation to this Prince, but it was a proposition unpopular among the people from the first, and Orange had the greatest

¹ Meteren, folio 195.

difficulty in persuading the Broad Council, in which the Calvinists predominated, to agree to it. He had only warmed to it himself when he realized the futility of looking any longer towards Germany for help. He sat sometimes for hours with the magistrates and colonels outside the chamber in which the Council was assembled, to influence the voting, and the matter was adjourned again and again. There were some who said that the French in the Provinces would be worse than the Spaniards. The Broad Council finally consented to invite Anjou (29th of July, 1580), and on the 12th of August the States-General at Antwerp determined to send an embassy under Marnix de St. Aldegonde to France, and the Treaty of Plessis les Tours was concluded on the 19th of September between the States and Anjou and was ratified at Bordeaux on the 23rd of January, 1581. Holland and Zealand were not brought under Anjou by it but remained to Orange.

In October, 1580, it was decided to transfer the meetings of the States-General to Holland, and the members of it went in November, first to Delft, then to Amsterdam, and later to The Hague.

The period which preceded the arrival of Anjou at Antwerp provides little incident. Most important in view of the war was the reorganization of the town army, which was gradually completed. It consisted of eight regiments, each under a colonel, and each regiment was divided into ten companies, each under a captain.

A War Council was formed to act with the States of Brabant to plan the defence of the whole duchy, with head-quarters at the House of Aachen.¹ The chief Burgomaster commanded the citizen army, and the colonels and captains obtained seats on the Broad Council. This Council was normally composed of (a) the Burgomasters and skepyns, (b) past-skepyns and wyckmasters, (c) deans and goodmen of the guilds. The citizen army went through a considerable training and was much boasted of, but it was never fit for any great service in the field.²

In July, 1580, the enemy captured the House of Ranst, about a league from Antwerp, and drove off the peasants, who put up a fight, and pillaged up to the walls of the town; and a force of three hundred which went out did not prevent their carrying off their booty. Ten days afterwards the enemy appeared again before the gates and burnt three mills full of grain, about a hundred paces from the Kipdorp Gate. The citizens of the quarter ran to arms, but the gunners were not at their posts on the walls, and the enemy retired unhurt after pillaging Borgerhout, carrying off several prisoners. The States had few mounted troops to prevent such raids, and everything was badly managed in every Government department and in every

¹ Meteren, folio 194.

² Mertens and Torfs, Vol. V, p. 108.

company of the army. At the end of September, 1580, Borgerhout was pillaged again and more mills burnt. The Military Guilds were called out, but there being no cavalry the raiders escaped again with horses and oxen.

Although such commercial intercourse as was advantageous to Spain was winked at, and Netherland merchants—especially if travelling under assumed names—were welcome in Spain, yet Granvelle, who was now in the Government at Madrid, advocated the destruction of all commerce carried on by the Provinces which were faithful to Orange.¹

As for the matter of religion, the affairs of the mendicant orders and of the other ecclesiastics who had been banished were being wound up and inventories of their property made. Farnese had, in Philip's name, published an edict declaring all sales of such goods null and void ; but much wealth was to be derived from the clergy, and the Calvinists soon looked upon the property of all ecclesiastics with a longing eye. On the 13th of May, 1580, all of them, including the nuns, were ordered to lodge inventories of their property within fourteen days at the "Rose" in the churchyard, and it was forbidden any longer to pay money due to them. This edict was renewed on the 23rd of June, 1580, and the ecclesiastics who disregarded it were threatened with imprisonment and other heavy penalties. In August their lands and goods were sold publicly on the Friday Market. The site of the Calvinists' old enemies, the Grey Friars, was sold in September. As the result of an outbreak of iconoclasm at Brussels the military and other Guilds obtained leave from the magistrates to remove their pictures from their chapels in the churches to a place of safety ; so they were saved from injury and sale, but not all were afterwards replaced.

Feeling the need of cavalry when the enemy raided the neighbourhood, the magistrates decided to lay out part of the money derived from the sale of the property of the ecclesiastics in raising fifteen hundred horsemen. It was, of course, pure spoliation which had become the order of the day. On the 2nd of October, Christopher Hoddesdon wrote Burghley that Orange had been at Malines and that he "mindeth to transpass a cloister from thence to build himself a house at Flushing"² ; and on Holy Innocents' day the Prince's brother-in-law, Count Schwarzbouurg, invited the Abbots of St. Michael's and of St. Bernard's to dinner in the castle and made them prisoners until they paid him money due to him from the States.³

In the summer the altars and images were removed from Our Lady's Church and then from the other churches and chapels, and a number of them were destroyed. Images of saints were

¹ Pouillet, etc., "Granvelle," Vol. VIII, p. 217.

² Cal. St. Pap., For., 1583, Addenda No. 588.

³ Papebrochius, Vol. IV, p. 39.

put into tar-barrels with bandages round their eyes and crosses on their breasts and backs, like men about to be burnt, and as in the pictures of the Spanish Inquisition which one could buy in Antwerp, and then the barrels and figures were set on fire.

The betrayal of the town of Breda to the Spaniards in May, 1581, induced the magistrates, acting on the advice of the colonels and captains, to suppress the exercise of the Catholic religion altogether, excepting baptism, marriage, and the visitation of the sick. For these last purposes two chapels were allowed them, and six priests, who were made to take oath to the town, were assigned to serve them, all other ecclesiastics being banished. This was decreed on the 1st of July, 1581. By August the Calvinists had the sole use of the churches of Our Lady, St. James, St. Andrew, the Dominicans (now St. Paul's), the Jesuits, the Grey Friars, the Boggaerds, and several small chapels. The Lutherans had the churches of St. George, St. Walburga, the Carmelites, and the Cloth Shearers' Chapel. The Catholics had lost all their great temples and had only two small chapels and might not hold Mass even in secret. The States-General decreed the sale of church property in all Brabant, portions being set aside for the poor and for pensions for ecclesiastics who had been loyal to them. The nuns were not expelled. Those known as The Nuns, the White Sisters, and those of the Third Order of St. Francis were forbidden to wear their habits and only parts of their cloisters were allowed them. The Poor Sisters of St. Clara departed; the Black Sisters stayed to nurse the sick. The monks of Peter Pot at St. Saviour's and those of St. Michael's, who had been allowed to return after the Ascension Day riot, either left or went to live with friends, but their goods were seized. Refugees from Breda were put into Peter Pot's house.

An inventory was made of all copper, lattern, iron, bronze, bell-metal, and lead found in churches and cloisters, which could be used for munitions. The poor and the loyal clergy were not the only people who benefited by the confiscation of church property, for new cemeteries were made. It was ordered that none should be buried in the churches in future but magistrates, nobles, and important citizens. Master Servaes, organist, was paid out of the confiscated church property to play for an hour each evening; the Grey Friars' cloister became a school.

All idea of recovering Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, or Holland and Zealand otherwise than by force of arms had been abandoned by Philip, and the completion of the conquest of Portugal had left his hands free. Although he sent Margaret of Parma back to the Provinces for a short time, the power remained henceforth in her son, Alexander. Even she saw that no means but force

could now recover all the Provinces, unless, indeed, some good could be derived from the assassination of Orange as one who disquieted the people and upset religion.¹

Marnix de St. Aldegonde and the other ambassadors who had been sent into France by the States to Anjou had returned to Antwerp in March with the ratified treaty. What particularly concerned Antwerp in it was that Anjou undertook to maintain the Religious Peace as it stood at that time, to observe all the liberties of the town, and not to introduce a garrison into it without the consent of the Broad Council. These promises became important in the light of subsequent events. Philip intimated to the French King that war would be declared if he gave any help to Anjou.

Farnese was still without money and his troops were inclined to mutiny. During the earlier months of this year he had not harried the country round the town so much as before; and the disaster at Breda was all the more alarming for its suddenness. Now all Brabant was open to the Spaniards.

The whole history of Antwerp shows that its very existence as a commercial town depended on whether Flushing was in the possession of friend or foe; and in June, 1581, an opportunity arose of purchasing it, and the magistrates would have become the owners, but it was more pleasing to the Zeelanders for Orange to purchase the seignery and the town. His enemies said he had bought it under the noses of the magistrates to build a castle on Walcheren as a place of refuge for himself; and he did, in fact, build a castle.

In August, 1581, Anjou led an army across the frontier and drove away Farnese who was laying siege to Cambray; and the man who brought the news of this relief was rewarded. Such news was all the more welcome in this month, for at its beginning the chief Burgomaster, Junius, who was the moving spirit in Antwerp now, had persuaded the Brabanters to make an attempt to recapture Bois-le-Duc, but it had been abortive. However, Anjou could not do much against Farnese and retired to England, to see whether marriage to Elizabeth was possible, and then to get into the Provinces by a path across which the Spanish army did not lie.

Letters from Marnix, then in England, reached Antwerp in November, to the effect that Anjou and Elizabeth were betrothed; and on the next day the great bell played and tar-barrels stood ready and would have been lighted had the wind not been too heavy, and guns on the walls were fired. The engagement, of course, came to nothing. Tournay fell to Farnese on the 30th of November, and gave him all the Walloon Provinces. The old story has to be retold. There were mutinies amongst the States' troops at Vilvoorde, Bergen-op-Zoom, and round

¹ Poulllet, etc., "Granvelle," Vol. VIII, pp. 235-287.

Lierre. It seemed as if Farnese would not be prevented winning through to the Land of Waes, and that the Antwerpens would soon see the Spaniards on the far bank of the Scheldt. The garrison at Lillo, down the river, was badly housed, and many were sick and some were deserting ; and yet this was the chief fort in the Antwerp defences. The soldiers in the service of the States were becoming more friendly with the enemy than with those whom they served.

Anjou's harbingers were at work in St. Michael's in December, and he was expected soon after the new year and so it was all-important for Orange to keep in office such magistrates as he could rely on. He had been for some time in Ghent in no small danger, and he returned on the 3rd of December to renew the College. Philip van Schoonhoven was chosen Chief Burgomaster and Peter van Aelst second Burgomaster. These men found the Town House just restored after the damage sustained in the Spanish Fury.

Anjou was still in England at Christmas, 1581, where it was generally considered that his marriage with the Queen was a settled matter ; and unpopular enough the plan was among all classes. Those who troubled their minds about foreign affairs thought they saw the Holland and Zeeland harbours already in French hands. They did not appreciate why these two Provinces had been retained by Orange. English statesmen desired liberty of conscience for the Provinces, and, that granted, would have been glad to see them all returned to Philip. Orange assured Elizabeth that Anjou would not get possession of the Holland and Zeeland Ports. He had no respect or love for this French Prince, who was neither a good Catholic nor a Protestant, and was trusted by no one ; but there was no other help, and the French King might perhaps assist his brother later on. As Motley says, the Provinces were now to be a republic, with Anjou as *podesta*. But he delayed his coming and other ambassadors had to be sent to hurry him.

The capture of Tournay had enabled Farnese to pass into Flanders, threatening Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp, and he was making such progress that it might soon become impossible for Anjou to journey to Antwerp. At length he started, Elizabeth accompanying him to Canterbury. Leicester, Hunsdon, Sheffield, Audley, Willoughby, Windsor, Charles and Thomas Howard, Philip Sidney, and more than one hundred English gentlemen sailed with him and three hundred retainers ; but although Elizabeth thus testified to her good wishes it was already known in Antwerp that there was to be no marriage. Orange went to Holland to meet him, but his enemies said it was to escape the fury of the people of Antwerp aroused by the Spaniards' recent successes at Tournay, in Friesland, and at Eindhoven.

Anjou reached Flushing on the 10th of February, and was met by Orange, Epinoy, and the colonels and captains of Antwerp. Next day he sailed on to Middelburg and on the 17th re-embarked, and on Sunday, the 18th, his fleet of fifty-four ships reached Lillo, and salutes fired by the fleet lying there and by the fort announced his arrival. He spent the night under the protection of the guns of Lillo and sailed up to Antwerp on the Monday. Great preparations had been made for his safety and for his reception. Soldiers had been brought into the villages and the banks of the river had been guarded, for the enemy was strong at Breda and Louvain.

The royal lodgings in St. Michael's Abbey had been prepared for him and a tennis-court like that at the Louvre had been made. The Merchant Adventurers provided lodgings for Leicester and other English nobles at the English House, and every one was eager to see the Queen's favourite. Wine, oxen, and sheep were sent from England, for there was some scarcity in the town. So great was the cost of the whole reception that payment of interest on the Funds had to be suspended and fresh money to be borrowed on security of the ecclesiastical property which was being confiscated.

Anjou's arms were painted on the Town House, though Philip's were not removed—a circumstance which led gossips to say that they were really on the verge of peace with Philip, and that that was why so many English lords had come. They said, too, that since she was now so friendly with a professed Papist, Elizabeth would restore several old Catholic families to honour and perhaps even re-establish the old faith in England.

The magistrates had offered prizes for the best decorated guild-houses, and the town painters, Peter Leys and Hans Vredeman de Vrieze, were ordered to decorate the streets. But few seemed to know on what terms Anjou was to be accepted, and many understood that Antwerp would only recognize him if all the other Provinces, including Holland and Zealand, did so too.

Early in the morning his ship appeared before the town, while some twenty thousand citizen soldiers stood on the quays and on the banks of the river. It was said proudly that the three greatest towns in Christendom could not show so many citizens under arms. Guns on the walls and in the castle roared salutes, answered by the ships of war. Passing to Kiel he landed there and was met by members of the States of Brabant and of other Provinces and the magistrates of Antwerp. Besides the English nobles already mentioned there were with him courtiers from France; the son of the Duke of Montpensier, usually referred to as the

Prince Dauphin of Auvergne, who had distinguished himself at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Ivry; the Count of Laval, the Count of Chateaurouge, the Count of Saint Aignan, the Count of Rochepot. Here, too, were Count Philip of Nassau, the son of John, and Count Maurice, Orange's son, aged fifteen.

Anjou mounted a tribune which had been erected and sat in the chair covered with cloth of gold. The tribune was hung with cloth of gold and tapestry and decorated with the arms of the Margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire and of Brabant and of the town of Antwerp, and of Anjou. In the name of the States of Brabant the greffier of Brabant welcomed the Duke, who made reply. The "Joyous Entry" was then read to the people in Flemish. Anjou said he understood the articles and would swear to them, and then took the oath in French as Duke of Brabant. He was invested with the crimson velvet mantle and bonnet trimmed with ermine of the Duchy. The States of Brabant then took oath to him. Master Vanderwerke, the greffier of the town, offered him the Margraveship, and he took the required oath, the gilded key was presented to him, and the heralds proclaimed him. After this ceremony Anjou mounted a white Neapolitan courser, richly caparisoned with velvet beautifully embroidered with gold, and moving towards Antwerp entered by St. George's Gate, where six gentlemen met him to bear an embroidered baldachin above his head. Heralds, officers, citizen soldiers, merchants gorgeously dressed, noblemen and gentlemen of several nations, councillors, and magistrates formed a procession. The special guard of the Duke was provided by the Military Guilds in fine armour. "These went afore him and about him on a cluster without order, like flowre de luces upon a roiall robe." The chariot on which, according to custom, was the most beautiful girl, chosen to take the part of the Maid of Antwerp, waited inside the gate. The Maid wore red and white satin, the colours of Antwerp, and in her left hand bore a branch of bay, and a garland of laurel was on her head in token of victory over Spain. She presented the keys of the gates of the town to the new Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire.¹ Other figures dressed symbolically sat with her in the chariot. The streets were lined by citizen soldiers carrying gilt shields and swords, and at convenient places "triumphs" or living pictures had been arranged by the Chambers of Rhetoric or the merchants.

The way lay along Guesthouse Street, Tanners Street, the Meer Bridge, the Meer, Clares Street, the Long New Street, St. Catherine's Bridge, Short New Street, then for a few paces towards Cowgate, and then by the Cheese Canal to the Market Place. All along the route, at windows and on balconies, were ladies and

¹ Antwerp had, of course, long ceased to be really the Margraviate of the Empire.

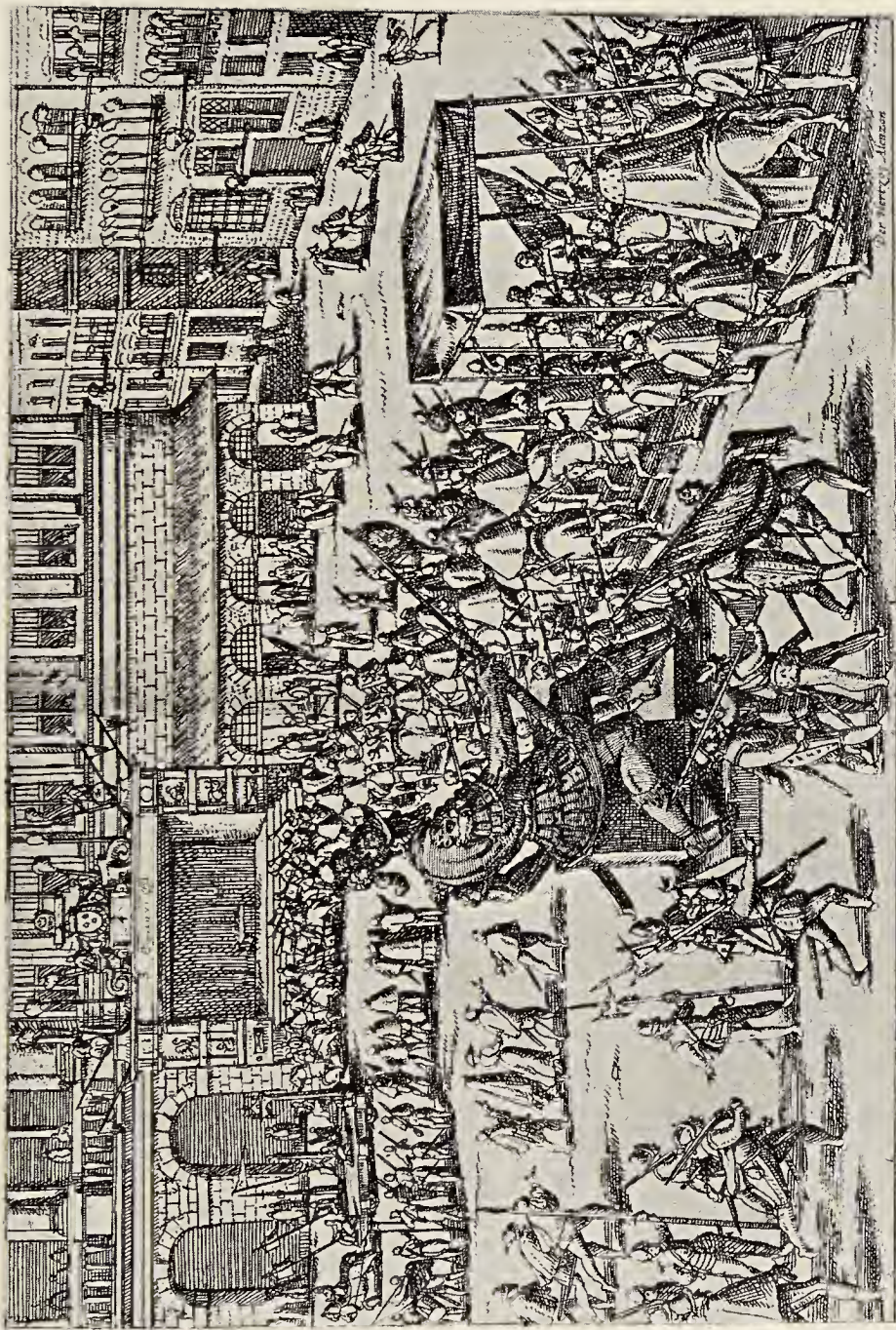
citizens' wives of Antwerp and Brabant. On the Market Place were stacks of tar-barrels on poles reaching to the level of the highest windows and six companies of soldiers were drawn up. The figure of Antigonus too, that mythical tyrant who once closed the Scheldt to mariners at his will, was in the centre of it. Anjou left the Market Place by the High Street, and in the Old Cornmarket a whale carried naked Neptune on his back, and devices showed the importance to Antwerp of commerce by sea and river. The Duke went on the the Oever, or Rivage, where two companies of soldiers stood, and so to his lodging in the Abbey, before which stood a monstrous sea-horse, twenty feet high, named "Tyranny," having on its back a nymph named "Concord." It was noticed that the merchants of Spain, Italy, and Portugal stayed in their houses that day.

It was evening by the time Anjou disappeared into his lodging, twenty thousand harquebuses saluting him, and the crowd dispersed. Illuminations turned three nights into one day. He took oath to the town, as he had done already to the Margraviate, on a stage before the Town House. Schoonhoven, the Chief-Burgomaster, read the oath to him in French, after it had been read to the people in Flemish. When he had sworn the magistrates and people took oath to him. He made largess and then entered the Town House to banquet with the princes, lords, and magistrates.

During the following days he gave audience to the chief persons of the town, the deans of the guilds, and the ministers of the Calvinists and Lutherans. He was reminded of another French prince, Philippe le Hardi, who had come to the Provinces, and he made by his replies to everything a very favourable impression.

These deputies were presented by Orange, but no one introduced representatives of the Roman Catholic community to offer congratulations to the new Duke, for the exercise of this religion in public and private had been suppressed for eight months; but it was only natural that its adherents should now expect and demand some greater freedom.

The Catholics hoped to hear Mass at St. Michael's on the Sunday, and a large number of them repaired thither for that purpose; but Anjou saw that this might cause some disturbance and heard Mass not in the church but in his private chamber; yet even to this the public were admitted. Needless to say, disturbances arose, and the courtyard of the abbey and Cloister Street were soon full of infuriated Calvinists. Anjou felt these last did not like him, and hoping to rally the Catholics round him he demanded permission for them to exercise their religion. He pointed out that the suppression of the Catholic religion had taken place since he had signed the Treaty of Bordeaux, and that religious questions should now be settled on the basis of that



THE JOYOUS ENTRY OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU, SHOWING THE FIGURE OF DRUON ANTIGONUS ON THE
MARKET PLACE
FROM AN OLD PRINT

treaty. The Malcontents and the King of France might be won over to the side of the States by the restoration of the Catholic religion.

The outcome was that it was decided by the magistrates to renew the Religious Peace in spite of all the opposition the colonels and captains and other Calvinists could offer; and on the 15th of March the Church of St. Michael was restored to the Catholics, but the officiating priests and those who formed the congregation had to have resided for three years in Antwerp and were called on to take an oath that they had forsaken the King of Spain and were loyal to Anjou and to the town, and none were to go armed to the church, beyond the custom in daily life. Elsewhere than in this church Mass was forbidden, but baptism and marriage might be performed as heretofore in the two chapels. Few Catholics presented themselves to take the oath, for they were mostly loyal to Philip; but the first Mass was sung in the Abbey on the 16th of March, and Anjou was present.

The Calvinists said this indulgence granted to the Catholics was what brought on the town such a storm as sea-captains had never experienced. Many ships were wrecked in the river, the water rose a foot higher than in 1570, and the dikes burst. Part of the town wall by St. Michael's and part by the castle fell; the old Beguines' Gate was injured and so were several houses. A tower toppled near Anjou's bedchamber and fell on the roof; afterwards strange lights were seen in the sky. The dikes had been neglected of late and were less capable than usual of resisting the flood.

Apparently, those whose duty it was to see that only those who had taken the oath attended Mass were very slack, for soon the congregations were so large and so few had sworn that on the 11th of April an edict imposed a fine in such cases, and on the 13th of June all inhabitants were called on to take it. It was said that ten churches would not hold all the Catholics by Easter time.

Just before Anjou's arrival there had been greater need than ever of a leader. Orange seemed to flow with the tide in the prevailing extravagance, and it was said there were six thousand men in Flanders and Brabant who had been put into military posts and given salaries. With Anjou's coming there was thought to be a prospect of improvement. Antwerp became a centre of politics and negotiations, and much that concerned Christendom depended on what might happen there.

Catherine de Medici was entirely satisfied with the reception accorded to her son, and it reminded her of the prognostication of Nostradamus that she would see all her sons on thrones. Elizabeth had promised to help Anjou as soon as he was installed; but no help came, and all talk of the marriage had ceased. The

English nobles had returned to England on the day after his installation.

The first weeks of his residence were weeks of festivity. The religious question and the conferences as to the best way of meeting the enemy did not keep the Court too long from enjoyment, and the Duke's birthday—the 18th of March—was looked forward to as a red-letter day, and in the evening there was to be a banquet and merry-making in St. Michael's. It fell on a Sunday. In the morning Orange heard a sermon in the castle chapel and then walked the short distance to his new residence in the castle grounds, accompanied by many lords and gentlemen, some of whom stayed to dinner in the great hall. The party included his son Maurice, two of his nephews (sons of John of Nassau), and his brother-in-law, Count Hohenlo.

When they rose from table Orange and several of his guests walked towards his own room, and as they went down a corridor he drew their attention to one of the pieces of tapestry with which it was hung, depicting Spanish soldiers. Suddenly a young man of low stature fired a pistol at the Prince, and the bullet hit him under the right ear, passed through the roof of his mouth, and came out at his left cheek near the upper jaw. He did not at once realize what had happened and thought part of the ceiling had fallen. Those with him ran the fellow through with their swords in a moment, and his guards rushing up made an end of him with their halberds. Orange on recovering from his dazed condition cried, "Kill him not. I forgive him my death."

Suspicion was certain to point at the French as the authors of this crime. At once excitement and panic took possession of the town. All the citizen soldiers joined their units, for now discipline was so well learnt and such obedience paid to colonels and captains that tumults were less to be feared than heretofore. The chains were drawn across the streets and the gates shut; the walls and guardrooms were occupied by armed men.

The first report which reached Anjou was that Orange was dead, and he bewailed his great loss. Frenchmen ran to St. Michael's or to their lodgings or wherever seemed safest. A crowd of townspeople gathered outside the abbey, and Anjou sent for Sir John Norris, the English colonel, to help him, but the messenger could not force his way through the crowd.

In order to prove his confidence in the town, Anjou asked that the Military Guilds might guard him instead of his Swiss.

But to return to the scene of the crime, all entrances to the house were closed at once, and the young Count Maurice did not leave the would-be murderer's body until it had been searched. In his pockets were found a dagger, a Jesuit catechism, a crucifix, an Agnus Dei, a green wax candle, two pieces of skin which looked like a beaver's and were charms, and some papers. As

soon as Marnix de St. Aldegonde arrived he read the documents found on the body which were in Spanish, and saw that they clearly proved it was Spaniards' work; and to avoid disaster he at once let this be known far and wide, otherwise the French would have been massacred, for the people thought they were on the eve of another St. Bartholomew, which had itself begun with the murder of Coligny. Marnix hurried to the Town House with his evidence, calling at the abbey on his way, and the magistrates at once opened an inquiry. Meanwhile a rumour spread that Orange was dead, and one of the captains of the citizen companies was admitted to his bedchamber to see that he was alive, and by him Orange sent a message to the people outside urging them to serve Anjou in case of his death.

A more careful perusal of the documents made by the magistrates established the fact that the assailant had been in the employment of a Spanish merchant named Gasparo d'Anastro, whom they ordered to be arrested with all his household, but he had fled towards Bruges. The would-be murderer's body was washed and put on a stake in the Market Place for identification, and was soon recognized as that of Juan Jauregui, a Spaniard and a servant of Anastro. It was quartered next morning, the head being set on the wall near the castle, and the quarters on the four principal gates.

Anjou and the magistrates ordered prayers for Orange's recovery, and Wednesday the 21st of March was made a general fast day, on which no work was to be done, so that all would be free to pray, and the churches were crowded by weeping people. The discovery of letters in the bags of the post from Anastro and addressed to another Spaniard, named Venero, led to the latter's arrest, and he confessed on seeing their contents. Also a Dominican named Anthony Timmerman, or Zimmerman, was arrested, and he admitted that he had heard the confession of Jauregui as to his intention to commit the murder, and that he had told him he could do it with a clear conscience. The written confession of Venero made in prison in the presence of the Margrave and certain skepyns showed he was a Spaniard born in Bilbao in Biscay, aged nineteen or twenty, and book-keeper to Anastro, with whom he had lived for two years. That Jauregui was also a Spaniard of Bilbao, who had come to Antwerp in the previous summer and had likewise entered Anastro's service as a clerk. That Anastro had suffered severe business losses and had conceived the idea of earning the eighty thousand ducats, the Commandership in the Order of St. James, and the other benefits and honours promised to whoever killed the Prince. Further losses threatened Anastro through the impending failure of two merchants, and anxiety urged him to plan the crime with Venero and to set on Jauregui to the deed. At first he had intended to do it himself, for if he had lost his life, that

would, in his opinion, have been better than being pointed at as a bankrupt on Antwerp Bourse. Venero identified the pistol used as coming from Anastro's house and the green candle as one of those given to pilgrims visiting the monastery at Burgos. He said Jauregui had told him he had revealed the plot in confession to Timmerman and had been granted absolution, that Anastro had quite bewitched him into committing the crime, and that he had made no preparations for escape. Two other Spaniards were implicated, but were not in the town.

On the day of the attempted murder Jauregui heard Mass at home before going to Orange's house, to which it was not difficult to gain admittance as Orange was in the habit of dining publicly.

Timmerman was born at Dunkirk and was thirty-one years old. He lodged secretly in the Long New Street at the "Golden Horse," was chaplain to the Spanish *Nation*, and had unlawfully performed Mass at Anastro's house. He had received Jauregui's confession in which the plan to murder Orange had been revealed to him, and had been paid two double gold pistolettes to pray for his soul. In his confession Timmerman said Jauregui told him he was doing the deed only for the glory of God and to help his poor old father. Timmerman absolved him conditionally on his not doing it for gain, but only for the glory of God and through zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, and gave him the Sacrament two days before the crime. It has been said this monk died a hero's death for having concealed the secrets of the confessional, as it was his duty to do, but he was really punished for teaching that such a crime could honour God.

Venero and Timmerman were tried in the Vierschare, found guilty, sentenced on Wednesday, the 28th of March, and hanged in the Market Place. Their bodies were quartered and put on the chief gates and their heads on the wall near the castle. Orange ordered Marnix to request the magistrates to punish the guilty with a death not of the cruellest nature.

Unfortunately, Anastro, the worst villain, escaped, but he did not get the reward. Venero said he had made him and Jauregui believe that after the murder he would treat them as his children and share his goods with them, but that Jauregui had said he wanted no reward from him, whose bread he had eaten. It seems that Anastro really thought that the magistrates and people would be glad to be relieved of Orange and would soon afterwards make terms with Farnese.

It is not surprising after this affair that a fine was imposed on Catholics who attended Mass at St. Michael's without taking the required oath.

Anjou visited Orange daily. The minister, Villiers, scarcely left him, and Plessis and Laval were constantly at his lodging. When Anjou went to see him all his suite followed into the

chamber, and an observer says the smell of them and their boots, "with some of them eating onions and the like," made the sick-room very unpleasant. The wound had in the first instance been dressed by Orange's own surgeon, Thomas, who expected to find a poisoned bullet, but did not. Later they sent to Herenthals for the best surgeon in the country, Hans of Herenthals, brother of Dierick, who had for some time served Queen Elizabeth. Afterwards Leonardo Botalli of Asti, Anjou's physician, looked after him. This man was an expert on injuries from fire and bullet and just the sort of man to be in a prince's household in the sixteenth century. To him was joined Anjou's surgeon and one Gaspar, a surgeon of Antwerp. It was feared the Prince might not make a good recovery, for he was "given to surfeits and had at that dinner committed some extraordinary excess." The great trouble was caused by the bursting of the maxillary artery. He was forbidden to speak and had to write his desires. The wad kept leaving the wound, and relays of people had to hold it in place with their thumbs night and day, for it could not be strapped. Charlotte and her sister, the Countess of Schwarzbourg, nursed him. The space between the castle and the town was almost always full of anxious people.

On the 2nd of May, Orange was well enough to go to Our Lady's church to return thanks for his recovery. Tears of joy were shed by a vast multitude, for this attempt on his life had aroused public sympathy and quite restored him to favour.

Farnese had written to Antwerp and other towns urging them to forsake Anjou now that Orange was dead; for a report to that effect had reached him. Even in April he believed it to be true, for then he had few spies in the town. The trumpeter he sent to Brussels was taken to Antwerp and allowed to see Orange alive, eating and drinking, and he shook him by the hand.

But let us see what good Catholics thought of this attempt on Orange. Provost Morillon wrote to Granvelle from Tournay on the 24th of March: "Monseigneur, I leave your Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lordship to imagine the joy that it has been to all good Catholics and *gens de bien* to hear of the killing of the Prince of Orange . . . which was bravely undertaken by a Spanish merchant and even more resolutely executed by a Biscayen servant . . . who devoted himself to a notable death and everlasting fame by such a glorious deed." Jauregui was to such people another Judith. Morillon thought that when Antwerp was reduced to obedience to Philip the anniversary of this deed ought to be celebrated to encourage others to imitate the poor dupe, for such good deeds were too soon forgotten.

Unfortunately the Prince's misfortunes were not at an end. Charlotte de Bourbon had been worn out by nursing him, and collapsing the moment he was well, fell ill herself and died on the 5th of May, and was buried in the Chapel of the Circumcision in

Our Lady's Church on the 9th with great solemnity, and mourned by all Antwerp, quite two thousand people going in procession. Her sixth and youngest daughter, Amelia Antwerpia, had been baptized on the 25th of February, 1582, and an annuity of two thousand florins was granted by the town¹ as godfather.

The efforts of Orange and Marnix had shielded the French, at a critical moment, from the unjust vengeance of the people, but Anjou remained unpopular. To the Netherlanders he seemed to be of feeble intelligence, bad tempered, at times prone to acts of violence, a debauchee, and a degenerate with hardly an accomplishment, but they had yet to appreciate his treachery. He hated Protestants, and they hated him as a member of the family responsible for St. Bartholomew. They distrusted him as the son of the woman whom they called "Esther" when she promised them help and "Jezebel" when she refused it.

Nothing but the support expected from Elizabeth if her protégé were adopted had ever inclined the States to choose such a prince, and his demeanour now did not redound to the credit of the English Queen. His courtiers hated to feel his power was so little. It had been his intention to remain in Antwerp for about a fortnight, and then to return to France to collect an army. Finding it necessary to remain he set about ordering his Court, putting forward a substantial claim for its cost, and demanding the jewels and tapestries of the old Dukes of Brabant. Orange became Great Chamberlain; Epinoy, Grand Master of the Household; Maurice of Nassau, Grand Equerry (with Count Hohenlo acting for him during his minority); Egmont, Grand Pantler; and M. de Rinsart, Captain of the Guard of Archers. Brussels at the time seemed too unsafe to hold Court in.

Anjou had brought a considerable amount of money with him, but it was soon spent. More was raised by new taxes, by an increase of duties on merchandise imported and exported. The States granted three million gulden for one year for the expenses of the war, and fifty thousand gulden a month and the product of certain imposts for the upkeep of the Court. It was, however, rather towards the confiscated ecclesiastical property and the estates of *émigrés* that one looked. Brabant had to maintain garrisons in Lierre, Malines, Brussels, Herenthals, Diest, Vilvoorde, Hoogstraeten, Westerlo, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lillo, Willebroeck, and Fort Margaret, and all the ships of war in the river at Antwerp. The forces in the service of the State were now quite equal to driving back the Spaniards had it not been necessary to keep such a large part of them in towns to suppress revolt among the civil population. Orange lent all his power to assist Anjou and the States-General to set in order all that concerned the government of the country and the defence

¹ The fifth daughter, named Brabantina, had been baptized on the 25th of October, 1580.

against the enemy ; but one cannot say that much came of all they planned.

In June, Anjou was doing his best to raise money to relieve besieged towns, but he was unable to prevent the fall of Oudenarde on the 5th of July, which was a great blow to Brabant and Flanders, and he was blamed for neglecting military affairs for games of tennis.

In the middle of July he visited Flushing on his way to Flanders to be inaugurated in that county, but Catholics expected that as a result of the loss of Oudenarde he would not go over but shelter in that seaport as a place the Spaniards could not reach. While he was away Lierre was most unhappily betrayed to Farnese by Captain Simple, a Scot. It was a town of great military importance to that part of Brabant, and a key to Antwerp, and again the townspeople became infuriated. The loss of Lierre was indeed the menace to Antwerp that the loss of Oudenarde was to Ghent, and by it Herenthals was cut off. On the Antwerp gate of Lierre the Spaniards put up a placard saying, "The town of Antwerp will be to let by Michaelmas." Lierre was only ten miles off and the Spaniards came within a musket-shot of the town every day, and so many citizens fled that before the end of August numbers of houses were indeed *to let*. All trade perished with the loss of Lierre, for no merchants dared send goods to the town which they could not dispose of at once, but sent them to Cologne, Wesel, or Dortrecht. Marnix hurried back from the Court at Bruges to quiet the people.

Anjou was joined by a small part of the army he expected from France, and returned to Antwerp on the 2nd of September and the soldiers were billeted in the villages.

The Antwerp people were irate about the losses of the year, particularly those which put Antwerp in danger, and they turned against Anjou and Orange. At Ghent, Anjou's coat-of-arms was pulled down after the loss of Oudenarde. Oddly enough, in the light of after-events, there was a rumour in Paris and in Lisbon in December that the Duke had been driven out of Antwerp in consequence of an attempt by him to introduce a French garrison. Of course such a garrison would never be tolerated, and to introduce it would be against his oath ; but to do this very thing was now his chief desire. His courtiers, or rather some of them, were filled with anger to see a French prince with power so limited and having to make requests of the States more often than give a command. What little power was not thus retained by the people was used by Orange. The French courtiers were constantly quarrelling with the Netherlanders and among themselves, even in Anjou's presence. Orange, on one occasion, so says Busbecq, urged Anjou to punish St. Luc, who had been a "mignon" of Henry III, for striking another courtier in his very presence, remarking that the late

Emperor would not have tolerated such conduct. To this St Luc rejoined, "Marry, is it Charles that you quote to me? Why, if he were still alive, you would ere this have lost your estates and your head."¹

Their dissatisfaction was much increased by their seeing how wretched was the state of the French soldiers, who were, of course, unpaid. The same story has to be told until it becomes wearisome. Nonpayment of what was due to them turned Spaniards and Germans into demons of cruelty and English and Scots into traitors.

Anjou was reminded by his courtiers that the States had cast off Philip and had sent Matthias away, and his pride made him fear a shameful return to France for himself. The question for him and for such of his courtiers as were treacherous enough to plan to put Frenchmen uppermost in the Provinces, in spite of oaths, was how to seize Antwerp and other towns.

The capture of Eindhoven in North Brabant by the French troops just after Christmas, 1582, put fresh heart into the courtiers, and the likelihood of being able to follow up the victory by some further attempt against the Spaniards gave Anjou an excuse for concentrating his army.

The year 1583 was called by Antwerpens "the year of confusion," because, by Anjou's orders, the Calendar of Gregory was adopted in Brabant and Christmas ordered to be on the 15th of December, which would thenceforth be the 25th; but there was enough confusion in all affairs to give it such a name apart from this alteration. Among other causes for alarm was the news that Catherine de Medici had determined to visit Antwerp to support her son, and all Protestants knew that such support might take the form of another St. Bartholomew, from which they could never dissociate her name. Only the report of the hatred in which the French had come to be held there dissuaded her from the visit. Ten thousand French troops were now in the Netherlands under Biron, who was ordered to come to Antwerp.

Anjou reserved the capture of this town, which was likely to be the most hazardous enterprise, for himself, and the organization of a dastardly plot was entrusted to Monsieur de Fervacques, who had distinguished himself in the civil wars in France.

Biron's army reached the left bank of the Scheldt on the 14th and 15th of January, 1583, and Anjou ordered the magistrates to make a pontoon bridge for it to cross on. Many French soldiers rode into Antwerp and the streets were so full of them that the citizens became alarmed. According to reports made to the magistrates, over three thousand lodged in the town. The men were in the villages round and only a part

¹ Busbecq, II, p. 160, 1881 ed.

of the Swiss bodyguard was admitted. The citizens were particularly alarmed because many of the French nobles wore the white cross of the Order of the Holy Spirit, and they feared the badge might be to distinguish friend from foe when a massacre took place, as at St. Bartholomew.

The plan was at first that the soldiers who formed Anjou's bodyguard and slept in or near St. Michael's should seize the Kroonenburg Gate close by and admit men from outside, but the suspicions of the people prevented this. Peter de Villiers, the Calvinist minister, got wind of something on the 16th of January and warned the magistrates; and during the night a masked Frenchman went into one of the guardrooms and gave some information. The Burgomaster, Peter van Aelst, went to the Duke and told him of the fears of the townsmen, suggesting that the chains should be stretched across the streets and a light put above each door. Anjou pretended to be offended by these suspicions, but consented, and a double guard was set at the gates that night. Therefore fresh arrangements had to be made. He had hoped to avoid bloodshed, but now he decided to resort to a mixture of force and artifice.

The 17th of January, the day fixed for the treacherous act, dawned cold and dull. A deputation of magistrates and colonels went to Anjou, who reassured them and said he knew nothing of a plot to seize a gate and was sure his countrymen would have no such design, and, strange as it may seem, they were satisfied.

About nine o'clock Anjou went to Orange's house in the castle grounds and invited him to go out with him to a review of the French troops in the direction of Borgerhout. The Prince declined, alleging indisposition; but the Duke was not content with this answer and without success sent a messenger to induce him to ride out. The Duke dined rather earlier than usual and was joined afterwards by the French nobles and officers dressed for review or battle—none could tell which.

It seems extraordinary that after the suspicion which had been aroused a better watch on the Frenchmen was not kept, and such a conclusion has led to the supposition that Orange was not averse from allowing Anjou to do his worst. The gates of the town were still closed and the chains were across the streets, but Anjou sent word that the latter were to be taken up so far as would enable him to go out either by the Red Gate or the Kipdorp Gate, since he had not, as he said, made up his mind by which way he would go.

Colonel Jacques de la Faille, of the citizen army, was on duty at the Red Gate and Colonel Virendeel at the Kipdorp Gate.

After dinner Anjou and some two hundred nobles and officers mounted at the abbey and rode along High Street, across the Market Place and through the town, which was almost deserted

at this, the dinner hour. In front of the cavalcade rose the Swiss and behind it the French guard ; in all they made about four hundred. When the party reached the Kipdorp Gate the guard was found to be not up to strength, for it was the custom for the townsmen to go by turns to their homes for dinner, and the Kipdorp quarter, or wyck, was denuded of its soldiers as they were unfortunately on duty in another part of the town.

The Swiss formed up on each side of the passage and the Duke rode out through them. Outside were some bands of men from the camp at Borgerhout. A Frenchman following Anjou pretended to have trouble with his horse, and this caused the drawbridge to be kept down and on to it ran some of the men from Borgerhout. Then a gun was fired as a signal to others outside, and the Frenchman who had begun the confusion lunged with his rapier at the sergeant of the guard who was trying to help him. In a moment the French and Swiss set on the guard and Colonel Vierendeel was one of the first to fall. Some of the guard shut the door of the guardroom and defended it bravely, but the Frenchmen galloped back into the town, shouting, "*Ville gagnée ! Tue ! Tue !*" and made their way by the inside of the wall to the Red Gate, which they captured and held for a time, and by the Long New Street towards the Bourse. Some got as far as St. Anne's Street and the Cattle Market. Others ran along the Meer and others got on to the wall and turned the cannon on the town. The number of Anjou's troops at this work is variously estimated, but it was probably about twenty companies of foot and four hundred horse. The town, indeed, seemed won, and it would have been if orders had been obeyed and no plundering done until it was secured ; but Frenchmen had been in jewellers' shops days before seeking what they might steal when opportunity arose, and now they turned aside to pillage where they could. But they were surprised by the tocsin sounding to arms.

A great change had come over the population of Antwerp, or rather they had become able to show their true character. Through want of organization ruffianly image-breakers had worked their will day after day in 1566, and the Spanish mutineers had been able to capture the town with trifling loss in 1576 ; but since the capture of the castle and the return of Orange all this had been changed, and now the citizen companies were well drilled, well armed, and well led. They were ready in next to no time. At the fêtes attending Anjou's arrival a year before it had been remarked how quickly these men changed from merchants, shopkeepers, innkeepers, artists into soldiers and then back again. Now they were running armed to their posts, or if it seemed better worth while firing from windows or along the streets. When bullets were exhausted they shot pieces of gold and silver from their purses, bent by their teeth,

or buttons from their doublets. Women and children were throwing down stones, logs, furniture from windows. A baker stripped naked for his work with but a linen cloth from waist to knees killed a French horseman with a stake and mounted his horse to fight the better. Catholic and Protestant, noble and working man, fought side by side; sailors ran up from the ships, snatching up anything for a weapon on their way. All was over with the French in less than an hour, and they were being driven from the town.

The guard of Swiss which had been with Anjou on his ride through the town had been small, and their comrades outside had received orders to enter from their camp at Kiel by the Kroonenburg Gate, but they found this shut and so had to skirt the wall to the Kipdorp Gate. As they came up they met soldiers in flight and tried to stop them with their pikes, but more and more came behind. At the Kipdorp Gate these Swiss tried to get in and prevented the fugitives getting out, and so many fell down to die of wounds, or to be trampled under foot by horses and men in the narrow passage, that soon there was a pile of dead. By Colonel Norris's advice the guns on the walls were turned on the fugitives.

Only eighty townsmen were killed and the enemy were usually said to have lost fifteen hundred and eighty-three killed—the date of the year in which this “French Fury” took place. Numbers were drowned in the moat, thrown there when the townsmen recaptured the guns. About two hundred and fifty Frenchmen of importance were among the slain, and over fifty who had a revenue of six thousand gulden. There were also many prisoners. Fervacques was found in St. Michael's with a body of Frenchmen who had intended, it was said, to take Orange prisoner.

Orange, by some accounts, thought the onslaught was not an attempt against the town, but the result of some misunderstanding or quarrel, and tried to quiet the people who were preparing for defence. He was in the castle far away from the scene when it began and knew nothing about it at first.

The magistrates seized Anjou's papers, which showed that Henry III and Catherine de Medici were cognizant of the plot. Similar attempts had failed at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, but had succeeded at Dunkirk, Termonde, and Dixmude.

Anjou had intended to lead up the main body of his army from Borgerhout, but when he saw the day was lost he rode to the castle of Berchem and spent the night there. The castle was unfurnished and he had no food, so he sent messengers to Antwerp to try to justify his action and to ask for his furniture and luggage, as well as for provisions. On the fourth day after the Fury the States-General and Orange decided to send food to him and his army, by which time they had made their way to Termonde.

When the news of the French Fury reached the French Court the King tried to dissociate himself from it, and sent the *Sieur de Mirambeau* to Antwerp to excuse Anjou. The Queen-Mother doubted whether battles fought in France in the last twenty-five years had cost the lives of so many men of great families. An early report said that Anjou and his nobles had been killed, and orders were therefore given to arrest the Antwerp merchants in Paris and Rouen. When Philip heard of this Fury he said, "My Flemings are still worth something." Queen Elizabeth at first refused to believe the news, and put the messenger who brought it into prison. It meant the break-up of the coalition, and she was left to fight alone against Philip, who was dangerously strong since the conquest of Portugal.

Farnese at once sent a trumpeter to Antwerp to suggest a Peace Conference, and to this the Catholics were disposed to agree, but the Calvinists would not hear of it. Had the French Fury culminated in Anjou's getting possession of the town he would no doubt have set up the old religion in the hope that Philip would give him the Infanta for wife and the Provinces for dowry. Now it was likely to be deep down until Philip regained the town by conquest or treachery, for the French had actually cried "Long live the Mass!" as they attacked the townsmen. Frenchmen were hated everywhere for what they had done at Antwerp, and orders had to be given in the town against injuring those who remained; and those who lodged Frenchmen were ordered to keep them hidden, for they ran the chance of being killed at sight. Men on their own responsibility searched from house to house for them. Anjou's coat-of-arms was thrown down, and the Frenchmen's property was put up daily for sale whether the owners were dead or fled with Anjou.

This Prince defended his conduct by saying it was the Netherlanders who had broken the treaty. The magistrates therefore caused a declaration to be printed by Plantin setting forth the real facts. A Fast and Thanksgiving was held on the 26th of January for the deliverance of the town. Soon afterwards the Bourse caught fire from fire-pots carelessly left about by some women, but its origin was of course sought among French traitors.

Deserted as they had been by Anjou, the States entrusted Orange with full powers until it should be decided what their future course was to be. One is at first surprised to find that Orange and Queen Elizabeth after all that had happened favoured a further alliance with Anjou; but unless Elizabeth was ready to help the States herself with all the power she could, there was really no other course to take. Help they must have, and from where else could it come? But we can see that all Antwerpens—and perhaps the Catholics with even more reason than the Protestants, after the way in which Anjou had brought hatred

on all of their religion—looked with the greatest suspicion on Orange and all who would lead them into further friendship with the French. He urged before the Broad Council that the attempt against Antwerp had been plotted by the nobles and not by the Duke, and that it would be imprudent to anger a Prince who could get help from France, and who might marry the Queen of England; and so negotiations were opened with him.

The Sieur de Mirambeau, sent by the King of France, reached Antwerp on Sunday the 6th of February, but he had to flee from the crowd which ran to the quay when they heard Frenchmen were aboard the ship. A guard had to be sent to conduct him to his lodging in the "Half Moon," behind the Town House, near to the "Shield of Hainaut," in which lodged the Count of Laval, who had come the night before to treat on behalf of Anjou. Both ambassadors appeared before the States-General, but it was very difficult to win the Antwerpens over to a reconciliation. Mirambeau returned to France and was succeeded by Bellièvre, who continued to treat. It was, however, the news that Farnese had opened negotiations with Anjou in the hope of getting possession of the towns that he had captured, which persuaded the States-General that there was nothing to be gained by a longer discussion and that they must make peace with the Duke. They entered a treaty by which he retired to Dunkirk, where we may leave him without investigating its terms, for he returned to France and died on the 28th of June, 1584.

So unpopular was Orange known to be at the time of the signing of this treaty that it was said that he was making arrangements to save himself, and that under cover of his approaching marriage he was going to send his children and furniture to Flushing, whither he would slip off himself at a convenient moment.

The dearth of grain in the early part of the year no doubt militated against the popularity of all in authority. The people said Orange was the cause of all they were now suffering, that he sought nothing but his own good, and that he would not care—and would perhaps even be pleased—if Anjou made himself absolute master of the other Provinces so long as he secured Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht for himself. They were not convinced that he had not shut his eyes to the preparations for the French Fury, and said that it was he alone who stood in the way of an Accord with Spain. The news that food and baggage were to be sent to Anjou directly after the Fury evoked sneers from the people. In the Kipdorp quarter there were cries to march on the castle and fetch out the man who lived inside. As a citizen company marched towards the castle to go on duty they cried out to the people standing round St. Michael's Abbey and Marnix's house, as they passed them, asking where the men were who wanted to bring the French

back.¹ Marnix was so disgusted with the French and so fearful of the dangers into which his well-known preference for them might now bring him with the people, that he retired to Zeeland and hoped to live in private ; but he promised Orange he would be at the service of the States again if wanted. It was even said that Orange's bastard son had taken part in the Fury and had slaughtered Antwerpens. The fact that in the original treaty signed with Anjou the temporary sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland had been reserved to Orange seems to have come to light now for the first time and was most damaging to his reputation. There were several attempts on his life after that made by Jauregui. In March, 1583, a Spaniard named Pedro Dordoigno, who confessed to having come from Spain with that object, was hanged at Antwerp and then quartered. But such evidence that Philip was still his enemy did not persuade the Antwerpens that he was not a traitor to their cause in so favouring the French. Fuel was added to the flames of the indignation which consumed them when news spread that he was going to take as his fourth wife Louise de Teligny, whose nationality outweighed any sympathy they might have with her for losing both husband and father in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. She arrived in Zeeland, and Orange went to meet her at Lillo on the 11th of April, the wedding taking place in the castle chapel on the next day. His popularity received a further injury from gossip that he was going to give his daughter in marriage to a Frenchman—the Count of Laval—and that this nobleman was then to be made Governor of Antwerp.

Soon after his marriage he went to the Town House to address the Broad Council in favour of reconciliation with Anjou, and a mob assembled in the Market Place shouting threats to throw anyone out of the windows who ventured to propose the return of the French. He was so alarmed that he sent for an escort of the Military Guilds to guard him through the streets, and, as they would not turn out, he spent the night where he was. A few days afterwards a huge crowd gathered round his house and shouted insults and the colonels had great difficulty in calming the people. This was because the space of sixty hectares which lay before the castle was being divided up for sale, and what appeared to be trenches had been dug. Moreover, Marshal Biron happened to be staying in the castle and rumour said a number of French soldiers were going to be let in by the far gate. Fifteen or sixteen companies of the citizen troops surrounded Orange's house after being on duty, cursing and insulting him, and threatening to drag him to the Meer and make him lodge there, where he could do less harm than in the castle. Biron had to leave at once for the States' camp at Rozendael.

¹ Willems, "Mengelingen," p. 92, etc.



PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE WHEN AN OLD MAN

THIS IS A COPY, NOW IN THE RIJKS MUSEUM AT AMSTERDAM, MADE BY M. J. MIERVELT OF A PORTRAIT
BY CORNELIS DE VISSCHEK

On the 22nd of July, feeling that he had lost the confidence of the people of Antwerp and knowing that they thought he neglected their interests for those of Holland and Zealand, Orange departed suddenly with his wife and all his possessions in eight ships of war to Zealand, never to return.

CHAPTER XII

THE BLOCKADE

PREPARATIONS to put the town into a state of defence had been begun as soon as the castle and town had passed into the hands of the States and Orange had come south. We have seen how the townsmen were forced to enrol in the eight regiments commanded by the colonels and captains. Abraham Andriessen, the famous engineer, was entrusted with the drawing up of a scheme of defence, and he advised the erection of a series of forts to surround Damme, Borgerhout, Deurne, Kiel, and twenty other villages.¹ Veere, on the Flemish Headland, was to be better fortified, and new forts were to be built on the Scheldt dikes above and below the town. The forts on the river were the only ones completed. The two most important of these were at Lillo and Liefkenshoek, three leagues below the town on either bank of the river. Want of funds delayed the building of forts, and the colonels found it difficult to get the money to keep the town walls in proper condition. They tried in vain to get the restoration of the Town House postponed until better times. They wanted to wall up the Kipdorp Gate and one of the water-gates, but only procured the demolition of houses dangerously near the walls inside the town. In 1578 vineyards, trees, fences, and thickets close to the walls outside were destroyed. It was the custom to collect round the gates to drink and talk, and this was forbidden just before the battle of Gembloux, as the people hampered the guard and made it easy for strangers to steal into the town. Great ships of Biscay and Brittany were commandeered, the vast house of the Hessian merchants in the New Town and the Blue Tower near St. George's gate were made into magazines, for the arsenal near St. Michael's, named the "Eeckhoff," was not large enough to hold all the artillery, arms, and munitions which were being collected. The care of these stores was entrusted to the Chamber of Munitions which met daily at the house on the Churchyard named "The Rose."

The forts of Lillo, Liefkenshoek, and St. Margaret near Rupelmonde, were begun in 1579, when the defeat of the States' army at Gembloux had shown that it would not be a match for the Spaniards in the field. Even at that time the necessity of building forts to hold the dikes which kept the sea and river

¹ Génard, "Anvers à travers les Ages," Vol. II, p. 86.

from rolling up to Antwerp was appreciated, for it might be that the citizens would have to pierce the dikes and make an island of the town. Yet the forts were not built where they should have been ; for example, none was made on the Kauwenstein Dike. Much energy had to be expended on sending citizen troops to garrison Vilvoorde, Lierre, Herenthals, and Westerlo.

Matthias and Orange constantly went out to see how the work of building the forts was progressing ; but, as we have seen, there was nothing at the beginning of 1579 to prevent the enemy capturing Borgerhout, and this state of things did not improve on the land side. Many rich citizens had country houses outside the town—particularly at Mercxem and Deurne—and these suffered heavily in such attacks. The state of things in the town was always such as to inspire dread of treachery and at times a fear that a section of the population might be massacred. The town had more than its share of rascals from other parts of the country ; and in March, 1580, the military commanders persuaded the magistrates to keep a dozen small cannon on the Market Place to be available when an uproar arose, and at the same time to close the cloisters, which, like the Beguinage, were near the wall, or to break down their outside walls, and to open them up, so that no secret gatherings could be held in them.

The arrival of Anjou did not expedite the defence to any great extent, perhaps because the expense incurred at his reception and by his Court had carried the town another step towards bankruptcy ; but repairs to the walls and the destruction of houses which might impede the defence went on. Much was done to the wall along the river-side. The colonels constantly complained that they were not given enough money and that they were compelled to expend part of what they received on fortifying Cantecroy, Ghent, Malines, Termonde, and Lierre. Although the colonels played an important part in it, the responsibility for the proper construction of the forts was with the Fortification Masters, six in number, including Abraham Andriessens, who met daily. The town was supposed to find fifty thousand gulden a month and some thirty thousand was actually spent on the works. The great resolution of the year was to destroy the Abbey of St. Bernard to prevent the enemy fortifying it and breaking the way by water to Brussels and Malines. At the time of the French Fury, Andriessens and the colonels and captains and the deans of the Military Guilds were seeing to the defences of the Fort of Lillo and to the security of the Kauwenstein, Blaauwgaaren, and other dikes.

The materials of the demolished Abbey of St. Bernard were used to strengthen the walls ; but when the Bourse was burnt the Fortification Chamber found they had to restore it out of their treasury before they could get on with their proper work.

They were hardly able to continue building the Forts of St. Margaret and of Veere on the Headland.

Farnese was meeting with a number of successes. The States' army, which contained a large proportion of French and was commanded by Biron, was not far from Antwerp while Eindhoven was being besieged, but there was no money and nothing much was accomplished. The Spaniards' garrison of Lierre made a very successful raid on Borgerhout and cut up the troops there, and in revenge the French attacked Lierre on the 3rd of March, 1583, but were repulsed. Count Mansfeld took Eindhoven from the States on the 19th of April, and soon several castles and fortresses in the Brabant Campine. Then he laid siege to Diest, which capitulated on the 28th of May. He moved on against Westerlo in the Campine, which surrendered on the 6th of June. These losses greatly affected the spirits of the Antwerpens. The siege of Herenthals followed the capture of the town and castle of Zichem. The castle of Hoogstraeten capitulated on the 22nd of June. Herenthals was able to hold out because Antwerp had put sixteen hundred men into it and Farnese was forced to raise the siege. As soon as Anjou left Dunkirk for France that town capitulated, and was followed by Nieuport, Furnes, and Dixmunde. The loss of the castle of Rupelmonde (October, 1583), brought the enemy into the Land of Waes and on to the dikes which protected Antwerp. The Fort of Veere, on the Flemish Headland, was the only one in the Land of Waes between the Spaniards and Antwerp. The Antwerpens therefore again pierced the dikes at Callo and Burght and laid all the *polders* round the Headland and almost up to Ghent under water. These dikes had been pierced by the States in 1576 when the Spaniards held the town, so that ships could go over the *polders* and avoid them, but they had been repaired. The capture of the Sas of Ghent by the Spaniards brought the fall of Ghent itself all the nearer. Farnese was showing himself the greatest man Philip had yet sent to the Netherlands, and his military successes were wonderful considering his need of money.

Count Hohenlo, Orange's brother-in-law, with his cavalry, laid waste the Campine to starve the Spaniards in those parts, for the Netherlands themselves lived on supplies drawn mostly from the Baltic, and the Antwerp granaries were fairly full. Farnese took Steenberg near Bergen-op-Zoom in August, 1583. In this month Biron and his Frenchmen left the service of the States, but a few re-enlisted with a number of other mercenaries to defend Antwerp. The Spaniards made another excursion from Lierre and captured a mounted citizen company,¹ with its captain, while they were foraging, and next day they

¹This company of the citizen army was now mounted on the horses captured from the French at the French Fury.

seized a ship at Basel on its way from Malines to Antwerp and plundered it. On board the ship was a great quantity of merchandise and over forty passengers, including some of quality from Antwerp and elsewhere. The Antwerpers made an attempt to retake Rupelmonde, for it was the key to the Scheldt between Termonde and Antwerp, but they could not. The navigation of the lower Scheldt was secured by a fort built by Hohenlo at Terneuzen. Before the end of the year Farnese had added to his other achievements the capture of Alost, betrayed by its English garrison, and had made a boom across the Scheldt at Wetteren, between Ghent and Termonde, and built a fort on each bank, and so cut Antwerp off from Ghent. Therefore there was a renewed activity among those responsible for the defence of the town. They bought gunpowder, sent provisions and stores to the forts, inspected the houses on the quays to see that men could nowhere crawl in at the windows, the Military Guilds were set on watch on the English and other quays, booms were put at the entrances to the *vliets*, or canals, branching from the river into the town, ships of war were provided to convoy merchantmen twice a day, ships were built and precautions were taken to avoid plague. The town was put under war conditions.

Five months had gone by since the Prince had left Antwerp, but his hold on the town had been maintained by Philippe de Marnix, Seigneur de St. Aldegonde, whom he had got elected Chief-Burgomaster. Marnix left Bergen-op-Zoom, where he had been living on his farm since the treachery of his French friends, and came with his wife and family to the Refuge of the Abbey of Tongerlo in Long Guesthouse Street, where they lived until the spring of 1585, when they moved into the house of Gilles Hoffman the merchant. He had only been elected Burgomaster in November, 1583, but by the following February evilly disposed persons were spreading a report that he was in correspondence with Philip for a complete surrender of the Provinces.¹ Considerable unpopularity had fallen upon him in consequence of his well-known zeal for the French alliance. He was now forty-seven years old; a Calvinist educated at Geneva, an author; a scholar with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, French, German; a student of law and theology; but most remarkable as an orator and diplomatist. He was not a great soldier, but was destined to defend Antwerp in one of the most remarkable sieges, or rather blockades. He did very good work in conjunction with the other magistrates during the months which preceded the siege, but from first to last he was hampered by the number of councils which had been established in the town. The colonels, too, often took important action without consulting him and even against his advice.

¹ "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," V, p. 217.

Besides the Council of Colonels there was that of the wyck-masters, or chiefs of districts of the town. In an important matter the Broad Council had to be summoned and there were the Chambers of the Ammunition Masters, of the Fortification Masters, and of the Ship-equipping Masters—as he said, too many pilots to steer the ship at such a time. Twice the gates of the town were opened without his consent, upon which he requested that he might hold one of the keys of the chest in which the Military Guilds kept the keys of the gates. This led people to say that he wanted to introduce soldiers and make himself master of the town, and his request was only granted by the Broad Council on condition that some of the colonels or some commissioners should be present when the chest was opened and when the gates of the town were unlocked at night. He had little authority over the States' troops, having no commission from Orange or from the States. He complained afterwards that they obeyed him or not just as they pleased and that he could neither reward nor punish them.

The Council of State having been dissolved its power returned to the States-General, now in Holland, but they interfered very little in Antwerp affairs—in fact, some thought them guilty of leaving Antwerp to its fate. The States of Brabant continued to sit at Antwerp. The only Southern Provinces which still held out against Philip were Brabant and Flanders, and soon of these only the towns of Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Ostend, Sluis, and Termonde. Ypres fell in April, 1584, and Bruges and the Franc in May.

On the 18th of January, Marnix led the Military Guilds and some citizen troops out to try to seize Lierre. The town was to have been betrayed to them by a Walloon captain, but bad roads and darkness delayed the Antwerpens' march and it was morning before they got there, and by that time the treacherous Walloon had changed his mind and revealed the plot, with the result that the garrison had been strengthened and the Antwerpens were set upon by Albanian cavalry and driven off. It was soon after this that four Spanish companies seized and began to fortify a position at Burght in the Land of Waes to prevent ships going up the river, and the Antwerpens erected the fort on the opposite bank near Hoboken to protect their shipping, and another at Doel near Liefkenshoek.

Marnix would have laid in a large supply of wheat, but money was scarce and the mercenaries in the service of the town were loath to see wheat bought for the inhabitants with money which was owing to them, and pointed out that the siege might cost them their lives.

Orange's youngest son was to be christened, and the ceremony provided a good excuse for Marnix and the Antwerp greffier, Martini, to go to Delft to confer with him. He told them that

when the town was besieged he hoped to be able to relieve it without a long delay. The chief part of his advice was that they should pierce the Blaauwgaaren dike, which formed the right bank of the Scheldt from the fort at Lillo, and the Kauwenstein dike, which ran at an angle to the right bank above Lillo, the result of which would be to bring the water from Zierikzee over the *polders*, right up to the town, and large vessels would be able to sail all the way. This excellent advice was given about the 12th of June, 1584.

Orange foresaw that Farnese would be able to bridge the Scheldt and cut the town off from Zealand. Marnix laid the suggestion before the magistrates on the day after his return and the colonels were present at the meeting. It was such good advice that it was decided to cut the Blaauwgaaren dike next day, but before the workmen had started the deans and other members of the Guild of Butchers came to Marnix and pointed out that pasture-land on which twelve thousand oxen grazed each year, all of which were eaten in the town, would be laid under water, and the loss would affect every one. They urged that neither Farnese nor anyone else in the world would be able to bridge the Scheldt, and they reminded him that Admiral Worst had tried to do so at Orange's order, and could not. It would be impossible, they said, in storm and ice-floes. Ships would get past anything Farnese could put there. Marnix wished they would not trust so much to wind and ice-floes. He reminded them that there were some very clever engineers in the Spanish army, and urged the plan on them. Unfortunately, most Antwerpens took the Butchers' view. Marnix was, however, strongly supported by the Lord of Kauwenstein, who incurred thereby so much hatred that he left the town and went over to Farnese.

On the 10th of July, William of Orange was murdered by the Burgundian, Balthazar Gérard, at Delft. The Burgveship of Antwerp passed to his son, the Count of Buren, still a captive in Spain, and the magistrates presented their condolences to his second son, Prince Maurice of Nassau. The States-General, in August, set up a Council of State with Maurice at its head, with sway over Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, and the parts of Brabant and Flanders still loyal to them, but negotiations continued with the French King.

Brabant and Flanders were, indeed, nearly lost and Farnese was threatening the towns. Treason was at work in every one of them, and the terms Farnese was offering were very liberal. Soldiers might retreat with honour, and citizens could wind up their affairs and depart if not willing to adopt the Catholic faith. Forgiveness was promised, but nothing contrary to the Catholic faith was to be allowed, and the exercise of the new religion and preaching were to be forbidden.

By the summer of 1584 the Antwerpens had completed a number of important forts on the river, including one at St. Anthonyshoek near Liefkenshoek, the Boerenschans, the Borinneschans, and the fort at Austruweel, all below the town.

Finding he could not persuade the Broad Council to cut the great Blaauwgaaren dike or that of Kauwenstein, St. Aldegonde ordered a fort to be built at the junction of the latter and the river-dike, but the order was not carried out. The fort at Veere, across the river, was garrisoned by two companies of mercenaries, and every evening a company of citizen soldiers went out to it. Three leagues below Antwerp were the forts Lillo, on the right bank, and Liefkenshoek, on the left, designed to secure the ascent of supplies from Zeeland. Alva's castle was not likely to play any part in the defence.

A census taken in 1584 showed ninety thousand inhabitants of Antwerp.¹ The garrison consisted of French, English, Scots, all in the forts outside the town or at Borgerhout. The citizen troops were not reliable in the field, but there were a good number of daring sailors to be found.

Farnese's army could have been starved if supplies had not been sold to it by the English and French, who continued such trade in spite of very half-hearted orders of their sovereigns. It consisted of eight or ten thousand men besides the garrisons, and their immediate task was to take Brussels, Malines, Ghent, Termonde, and Antwerp—all close together and joined by the Scheldt and smaller streams.

When they had reduced these towns in Flanders and Brabant the invasion of England could be attempted, and if that proved successful the way would be made easy to the reduction of Holland and Zeeland.

Philip and his councillors knew well that in order to do this and to overcome the Turks he must be supreme at sea: but just when he most wanted this power the place of the Spanish seamen was taken by the English and Dutch.² He had few ships and little money to build or buy them with just when a large fleet would have helped him to ruin the States; nor had he a base in northern Europe, nor a friend to lend one. Councillors in Spain wondered whether Elizabeth could afford to keep her fleet on a war-footing for long, and cursed the evil chance which had enabled the Holland and Zeeland sailors to buy arms, munitions, victuals, and all they wanted overseas and to pay for them with money which their growing commerce had drawn out of Spain, for many of them still sailed to Spanish ports. Granvelle planned to seize all the rebels' ships which lay in Spanish and Portuguese harbours at a moment when most of them would be laden with wine, figs, and oil for winter and ready to sail, by which means

¹ J. Cuvelier, "Les Dénombrements de Foyers en Brabant," p. lxxiv.

² Pouillet, etc., "Granvelle," Vol. XI, p. 139.

Philip would have a good fleet ready by the time the spring came. Even English ships might be seized, thought Granvelle, to make up for those captured by Drake. The Spaniards were sure that if the maritime power of Holland and Zealand could be broken in 1584, or at the latest by April, 1585, those Provinces must at once choose between submission and ruin. If their maritime strength could not be broken otherwise, Philip must conquer England first.

On the 3rd of July, 1584, Farnese marched through Flanders to Cruybeke, near St. Bernard's Abbey, on the Scheldt. He planted cannon on each side of the river and drove off the Antwerp ships of war. This enabled Colonel Mondragon to cross the river with five thousand men and ten cannon and march through Brabant behind Antwerp and lay siege to the Fort of Lillo, which had been completed. The fortifications of the Fort of Liefkenshoek on the other bank were unfinished, but there was a valiant garrison within.

Seeing that the siege of Antwerp—or rather the blockade—was about to begin, the Antwerpers had pierced the dikes on both sides of Lillo fort and the dike at Austruweel, and the wind soon covered the *polders* with water on either side of the Kauwensteen dike, which remained unpierced. Into Lillo they had hurried a company of the corps of picked citizens named the "Young Bachelors," and men were chosen from the other citizen companies and the Military Guilds, and the whole put under the command of Captain Gau. The Spaniards after taking the "inland" fort of St. Anthonyshoek near Liefkenshoek, moved against the last-named fort itself. They surrounded it, and opening a heavy fire made a breach and carried it by storm at the second assault on the 10th of July, the day on which Orange met his death. The garrison fought bravely, and were really smoked out by wagon-loads of hay lighted in the breach. Nearly all were killed but a few swam away and a few were made prisoners. Doel and Terventen had then to be abandoned, for supplies could not be thrown into them, but Lillo was to be stoutly defended.

The news of the loss of the important fort of Liefkenshoek and of the murder of Orange had a very depressing effect on the people of Antwerp and some—even of those most loyal to the States—favoured making peace, and many fled.

On the 17th of July, the States of Brabant, sitting at Antwerp, called into the town the garrison of Herenthals, at five leagues from Antwerp in the Campine. When these troops had marched a little way they received orders to go back, but they found the citizens had seized the town behind them and closed the gates with the intention of handing it over to Farnese. Thus was lost the key to the Brabant towns which had not yet fallen. There was no capable leader in the States' army, and this is an

example of how things were to be carried on until the end of the story. When old Mondragon heard how the States had lost Herenthals he said, "Now one can see that the Prince is dead." The Antwerpens made an attempt in July to fortify Callo, but the Spaniards drove them off and fortified it themselves.

The withdrawal of the garrison from Herenthals was part of a plan to put professional soldiers in the pay of the States, such as composed this garrison, into Lillo Fort, where the hottest fighting was likely to be, and the Young Bachelors and the other townsmen were being withdrawn into the town. The mainstay of the new Lillo garrison was four companies of Scots under Colonel Balfour, sent from Zealand on the 2nd of July. Before the end of that month Farnese had planted cannon on the dikes which contained the Scheldt to prevent ships going up to Antwerp, but did not succeed in interfering with them very much. Within a few days of commencing the blockade he was getting cables in England to "impeach the traffic" of the river, and Walsingham was taking steps to prevent such a breach of neutrality. He was making a palisade in the river, but he soon saw that months of work lay before him if any structure was to be strong enough to stand the force of the stream in winter and spring. Teligny, the son of La Noue, joined the States' army and went into Lillo and took command of it. Mondragon had planted artillery against Lillo and mined it, and the defenders continued to make sallies and countermine, but the piercing of the dikes flooded the land round Lillo and Mondragon was forced to move his camp and guns to Stabroeck, having lost two thousand men and several pieces of artillery during the siege, which had lasted only three weeks, but the brave defence at this important juncture was considered to have delayed the ultimate surrender of Antwerp by full six months. Reinforcements brought the garrison of Lillo up to fifteen or sixteen companies. The withdrawal of Mondragon's army led to an action on the dikes in which the Antwerpens were worsted and lost the Boerenschans a little higher up the river.

Farnese's army, on the right bank of the Scheldt, at the end of July, was spread over the Kauwenstein dike, Ordam, and the Blaauwgaaren dike, in entrenched and fortified positions.

No sooner had Mondragon withdrawn his army than the French soldiers in Lillo mutinied for six months' pay, and the States of Brabant had to send them five months' in money and one in cloth.

On the 17th of August, Farnese took Termonde, which was held by a small garrison whose pay was in arrears, and two days later the Fort of Grimberghe. Vilvoorde surrendered to him on the 7th of September, although it might have held out for a long time, and Antwerp was cut off from Brussels. On the 17th

of September Ghent was starved out, and Farnese had all Flanders excepting Ostend and Sluis, which he could not expect to hold until he had more power at sea.

The capture of Ghent gave the Spaniards many ships and boats and much artillery and munitions, but the difficulty was to get supplies down the river to Beveren and Callo, where Farnese had established his head-quarters and arsenal, for the ships had to pass under the guns of Antwerp. As has been said, the magistrates had cut the Scheldt dike after the loss of Rupelmonde and had flooded the Waes Land to keep off the enemy. Farnese now turned this to his advantage. He brought twenty-two flat-bottomed boats down from Ghent with five hundred soldiers on board, and when they neared Antwerp they sailed out of the river, through a gap they had made in the dike at Burght, over the inundated land, and through a gap in Blokkersdyke, over more inundated land to Callo. Antwerp ships tried to stop their going through the gap at Burght and a sharp action was fought, the Spaniards' flotilla being supported by the fort they had built there. Teligny took part in this fight, and later the Antwerpens closed the gap in the dike and built a fort on it, which they called after him. The Antwerp Admiral, Jakob Jakobzoom, was reported to have shown cowardice in this action, and was given the nickname of "Runaway Jacob."

With these boats brought from Ghent, Farnese bridged the Scheldt, anchoring them and lashing them together, and in the middle of October succeeded in closing the river for a short time, but his bridge was dashed to pieces by a storm. In that month ships found little difficulty in coming up: two hundred on the 7th full of victuals and a smaller number on other occasions. A dark night and a strong, favourable wind were all that was needed, and the States' forts were able to give them considerable assistance. While the river was closed it happened that the enemy was stopping the land passage from Bergen-op-Zoom and were ravaging the country up to the walls. This seems to have been the cause of something which was spoken of as a conspiracy in the town. On the 15th of October, some of the chief citizens and merchants approached the Chancellor of Brabant, demanding that peace-negotiations should be opened with Farnese, and the magistrates felt that these men were voicing what was the desire of others, but they had the petitioners arrested and fined them heavily. There was great discontent among the people, whatever their religion, as a result of the punishment of these men, and in future none dared to speak openly, but all murmured, and the working people more than the rest, for their money was beginning to run out and there was no work for them. The magistrates had spies in the town, who reported what was being said and encouraged delation by friends.

Farnese had determined to make a much stronger structure in the river. While the States-General in Zealand and the magistrates of Antwerp were planning an attack on his forts on the Scheldt and were putting it off from week to week, he had set about his bridge. After he had taken Ghent he devoted himself entirely to the siege of Antwerp. Like a prudent general he had abandoned all thoughts of taking it by assault with such a small army as was at his disposal and had determined that the great question was whether he would be able, in spite of the naval power of the States and of the width and strength of the Scheldt, to cut the town off from help coming up-stream. He had hoped his artillery would achieve this; but discovering that it would not, he quickly resolved to bridge the great river, cost what it might. That done, he would have sufficient troops at his disposal to perform the easier task of cutting off Antwerp on the land side. Even if he had got possession of the fort of Lillo as well as that of Liefkenshoek he would not have been able by artillery to prevent ships passing, so wide was the river even at this narrower part.

The bridge was to be between these two forts and the town, that is to say, above them, and sufficient troops under Mondragon were left to watch Lillo and prevent sallies. Farnese chose a spot two leagues below the town between the villages of Ordam in Brabant and Callo in Flanders, where the river was narrowest and bent a little, so that should the Antwerp sloop down they would not come directly against the bridge.

His officers told him he would require three armies to take Antwerp—one on either bank of the Scheldt and another in Brabant—but patiently he spent the late autumn and winter at the dreary task he had undertaken, without enough money to buy powder and shot; with troops unpaid and dying of hunger and half-naked, so that some thought they would not carry on the siege for more than a month; but they were veterans and loved their general. For his part, he believed their valour in battle was greater than their grumbling in camp; but numbers deserted and went to France.

The siege or blockade of Antwerp was at the time considered the most worthy of note ever undertaken, mainly on account of the engineering works on the river. Farnese began by constructing the Forts of St. Mary on the Flemish and St. Philip on the Brabant bank of the Scheldt. Beveren had to be drained before the vast amount of material required for the bridge could be collected there. The Zealanders had cut the dike at Saftingen on the Flemish bank and thereby flooded the low-lying land from Hulst to Burcht, so that only Doel, Callo, and Beveren remained dry. On this higher ground and on the dikes Farnese built forts. He felled the largest trees in the Land of Waes and stored the timber in Callo Church. At the end of October he

abandoned the Boerenschans, which he had snatched from the States a short time before.

In Antwerp, meanwhile, certain measures which were thought necessary were being taken by St. Aldegonde and the magistrates and colonels. Guns were taken out of the privately owned ships lying in the New Town and the owners compensated, the church of Berchem and its tower were destroyed, and the Leper-house with its chapel and tower so that they should not protect the enemy. Ruined peasants and tramps poured into the town as winter drew near and consumed all the funds at the disposal of the Almoners, and there were spies among them. Everything seems to have been carried on in a very haphazard manner. At low water men could still creep into the town by the Kroonenburg Gate and along the quay, perhaps without meeting anyone on a dark night. Probably there were citizens who were in Farnese's pay, but most of his spying was done by those who mixed with the vagabonds, who swarmed everywhere. Building materials were scarce and those of the demolished Leper-house were used for the Forts of Austruweel and Tollhouse, which were begun in September. A number of new powder mills were constructed, mostly outside the Mud Gate and in the castle. Galleys, ships, and flat-bottomed boats were built and ships' carpenters were ordered to relinquish all other work for this. Poplars and elms were felled outside the town at St. Willebrord's. At the time of the loss of Herenthals, Antwerp had to levy a hundred and also a twenty per cent duty on merchandise coming in and going out, and three hundred thousand gulden was granted over and above this. The ordinary citizens loved neither the magistrates nor the colonels, and said they had refused to pay the tenth penny to the King, but now had to support any number of little kings in the town. St. Aldegonde had got rid of all but Calvinists from the College of Magistrates and from the important commands. There was for some time no scarcity of wheat or other provisions, for the high price obtainable tempted speculators to send them up; but in October it was decided to fix prices and the result was, of course, that many merchants gave up such business and even called ships back which had already arrived rather than sell at the controlled price.

There was in the town a certain Mantuan, named Frederico Gianibelli, who had carried on business in Blind Street for several years. It was he who in the early days of the siege came forward with the plan that a circle of rich citizens should lay out a sum of money in buying wheat and other provisions and bring them in, the freight being paid by the town. The buyers were to store these provisions in their warehouses and barns, and they were to be bought from them, when needed, at such a price as would yield an adequate profit. Thus the town would have continued well provided, but although many, including Marnix, approved

of the Italian's plan, it was put on one side, or rather it dwindled into an order that all should lay in provisions for two years which the poor could not do. Now and then the masters of the Zealand ships allowed themselves to be bribed by Farnese and let their owners' property fall into his hands. Fixing prices at Antwerp had not persuaded all merchants to discontinue sending up their ships, but these betrayals compelled the States to order that all vessels should sail in fleets only, so that it would become impossible for treacherous captains to slip away; but waiting for the fleet to assemble caused early comers to miss the wind and the dark nights, and so the merchants one after another gave up an enterprise in which they ought to have been encouraged by every means.

No orders of the magistrates were able to prevent the flight of citizens, and many managed to get most of their furniture away packed as merchandise. The military authorities were ordered to imprison in the Bakers' Tower men found in the ships without passport, but women and children were allowed to depart. The property of those who got away was confiscated and expended on the defence of the town. Men were very artful in the way they invented excuses to get outside the walls—they were going to fish in the flooded *polders* and so on.

In the beginning of November, Antwerp sustained a serious loss. The magistrates ordered Teligny to go to Zealand to confer with Prince Maurice and the States-General about an enterprise to relieve the town which was always being planned and then postponed, and since the overland route was then dangerous he went by water, but was captured by the enemy on the way down. While this gallant gentleman was in command of Lillo the Spaniards had sent a forged letter to his mother purporting to come from his father, La Noue, then a prisoner, and asking her to urge their son to surrender the fort, but she knew her husband too well not to see through the stratagem.

On the 8th of November about eighty ships sent by the States-General from Holland and Zealand got up to the town laden with victuals, but, says the chronicler, it was necessary to pay for them and money was beginning to fail. Accordingly, on the 13th of November, Farnese wrote to the magistrates from the camp at Stabroeck saying that he had heard that more than half the townspeople were ready to talk of peace, and that he was as ready as they. The magistrates consulted the other members of the Broad Council and the deans of the Military Guilds, and then answered that the war was not of their seeking, but had been forced on them by Philip's persecution of those who had done no wrong but meet for prayers, that they had wanted no other King, and that Alva's persecutions had completed the disaster. They added that they had now joined the other

Provinces in resistance and had sworn not to enter into parley or peace treaty without the consent of all, but they seemed loath to refuse terms, if good ones were offered. Indeed, Marnix and Junius (Jean de Jonghe) could only persuade them against renewing a correspondence with Farnese by leading them to think that help was sure to come soon from Henry III and perhaps from Elizabeth. Such hopes deferred the surrender of the town, but they would never have braced the Antwerpers for a prolonged conflict fought mainly to win the right to put a French prince on the throne. Marnix had always been "good French"—far more so than Orange—and he failed to comprehend that most Brabanters hated the Frenchman almost as much as they did the Spaniard, and that the wisest of them—after the recent conduct of Anjou—supposed that any French prince would restore the castle to hold them in subjection with as great a readiness as would Philip or his governors.

As a matter of fact the French King did not want Brabant or Antwerp without Holland and Zealand, but in August, 1584, Marnix persuaded the States of Brabant to express approval of annexation by France, and their deputies urged this course in the States-General, and it was ultimately adopted and an embassy sent to the French Court, and the magistrates addressed a letter to Henry III and Catherine de Medici.

In November, and in the beginning of December, fleets convoyed by ships of war reached the town with very slight loss, but in the former month the river was closed for a few days and sailors went down from Antwerp at night and cut the cables which secured the bridge of boats and freed it again. At the end of the year Farnese was expecting the enterprise long planned by the States to be undertaken against the forts and the Kauwenstein dike, and he brought up fresh troops from his garrisons and removed his wounded and sick, the latter being very many, for plague was in his camp. He built a fort below St. Philip at the junction of the Scheldt dike and the Kauwenstein dike to prevent the latter being pierced. The work on the bridge was proceeding very slowly. A wooden jetty had been built out from each bank of the river, under cover of the Forts St. Mary and St. Philip, and the two stretched a thousand feet across the river, and ships to fill the gap which remained were badly needed. Seeing that none could come down the river, since the States had closed the dike at Burght, and that the Zealanders would certainly let none come up, Farnese made a canal, twelve miles in length, from the village of Stecken in the Land of Waes to Callo.¹ All victuals and supplies came down this canal from Ghent.

The river at the spot where the bridge was being built was

¹ Wauwermans thinks his engineers discovered and made use of the dry bed of the Dollaert, the existence of which had been forgotten. A canal could not have been dug so quickly (p. 184).

two thousand four hundred feet wide and over sixty deep, with a rise of twelve feet at high tide. Thirty-two vessels lay in the fourteen hundred feet between the jetties, each sixty-six feet long and twelve broad. They were twenty feet apart and lashed together side by side with cables and chains and anchored in position. To each vessel there were thirty soldiers, four sailors, and two large pieces of cannon. On the bridge were altogether ninety-seven pieces of cannon. Rows of small vessels with stakes in front of them and booms protected the bridge above and below. Not only did the bridge close the river, but cavalry and artillery could cross on it. Farnese himself took infinite pains about building it. He began each day by hearing Mass and then worked on it until dinner-time and then again until it was dark. On the whole, the winter 1584-1585 was milder than usual, excepting some very stormy weather, which delayed the commencement of the work, and so the building was not seriously hindered by floes of ice, and the pity was that the Hollanders and Zealanders did nothing in response to the many appeals which St. Aldegonde made to destroy the bridge before it was completed. He said that it seemed as if every one had forgotten Antwerp. The fleet under Admiral Treslong did nothing beyond convoying food-ships up the river. The States devoted their energy to keeping back the Spaniards in Guelders, Utrecht, Friesland, and Overijssel, and thought they could not send a large enough force to relieve Antwerp by land. They relied too much on promises of help from France and England.

Food had to be sent from Antwerp to revictual Malines, and it was difficult to arrange for its transfer. We sometimes find the townsmen acting as a guard for it along the road, because the soldiers in the service of the States refused to start on an enterprise which was dangerous and unprofitable. So bad was the management of the expedition on one occasion that the wagons were left behind at Malines, although needed at Antwerp. A welcome supply of grain, butter, cheese, stock-fish, and salmon was brought into the town at the end of November, and the price of these commodities fell so rapidly as to call forth a protest from the tradesmen. There was usually plenty of food in the town at this time, but there were so many who had no money and such high prices were asked for it that it seemed as if the town might easily be starved into surrender in spite of its ample store. Just before Christmas a fleet of one hundred and seventy ships got up with the loss of only one captured and two or three sunk.

By the New Year the Zealanders had become less ardent than ever about destroying Farnese's bridge. They thought he would never complete it. Once during the winter Marnix went out in a galley with some small boats and attacked it and captured two or three of the vessels which were to form it.



PORTRAIT OF PHILIP OF SPAIN WHEN OLD
BY J. PANTOJA DE LA CRUZ, IN THE PRADO, MADRID

Soon after Christmas a trumpeter brought a fresh peace-offer from Farnese, but, although they raised cries for peace, Marnix turned it aside by assurances to the townsmen that the French King would soon send help.

In January, 1585, the deputation of the States-General went to France to offer the sovereignty to Henry III ; but there was no likelihood of his accepting it or of his sending help. It was more easy to win the Protestants over to be "good French" at this moment than "good English," for there was every chance of Elizabeth being succeeded by the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots, whereas, unless the League could prevent it, Henry III would be succeeded by the Protestant Henry of Navarre. The English ambassador at Paris had an interview with Henry III in the early part of February to find out what he intended to do, and to tell him of the need in which Antwerp was, and to explain to him that a promise of help on his part would put great courage into the town ; but he found the king thought the condition of Antwerp was not as bad as was said. Of course if Henry would not send help it would be all the more likely that Elizabeth would feel compelled to do so. However, she was uneasy about the financial resources of the Provinces, for she knew that many merchants had left Antwerp when the siege began—and Holland and Zealand too—and had gone to Germany, Italy, France, and England. She disliked having to pay up when others proved defaulters.

The convoy of one hundred and seventy ships which got up to Antwerp just before Christmas was the last. The winds were contrary for the rest of December, all through January, and into February, and it was found that Farnese had nine ships of war on guard. At the beginning of February, one hundred and fifty ships were waiting at Bergen-op-Zoom, but only three tried to get through and only one succeeded. It was thought that had Admiral Treslong approved all the waiting ships and many more could have been brought through, and the States-General threw him into prison, by which time there was very great scarcity of meat in Antwerp, although not so much of other things. Brussels, too, was badly off, depending on Antwerp for supply, and a man was sent over to show them how to make a substitute for bread, as nourishing, he said, as the real article. On the 24th of February, all the ships waiting at Lillo returned to Zealand, for they saw in what state was Farnese's bridge. The only forts still held by the States on the Brabant bank were Austruweel and Lillo, and on the Flanders bank Veere and Terneuzen.

At the beginning of 1585, Hohenlo had collected a strong force near Bergen-op-Zoom under the pretence of preparing to make an attempt to relieve Antwerp, and then on the 20th of January by a piece of brilliant work seized Bois-le-Duc ; but the

soldiers began to plunder the town before it was really theirs and it was recaptured. Farnese said that if the States had held it he would have been compelled to raise the siege, for it was the place from which his supplies came. It was such an enterprise as the States could find men for, seeing its success, if achieved, would be instantaneous. They could not spare men from the Northern Provinces to fight for months on the dikes of the Scheldt. This misfortune proved to be the first of a series, and nothing but St. Aldegonde's eloquent speeches about the certainty of help coming from France, averted a mutiny which would have opened the gates to the Spaniards. He was inspired during the first five months of the year by an optimism on this point hardly justified by the information he possessed and had the people known the truth they would probably—as Granvelle expected—have “cut him in pieces.” Fearing a fate similar to that of Orange, he wore a coat of mail beneath his tunic, and had become very bald and white before the siege was six months old.

The news of the lamentable failure at Bois-le-Duc was followed by that of the completion of the bridge. The inhabitants had tried not to let belief take hold of them that it could stand against the Scheldt. They thought something must turn up at the last moment to destroy the work of months. Its completion was indeed delayed a little by a frost; but neither ice-floes nor Zealand sailors swept it before them, and there were great rejoicings in the Spanish camp. A spy sent down from Antwerp to see if the report was true was captured by the Spaniards, and Farnese had him taken to the bridge and shown all about it and then sent back to Antwerp to tell the people how futile would be any effort to hold out longer.

De Lopez, agent of Prince Maurice at Antwerp, wrote to London, and said that the situation was lamentable and that all was lost even for England if Elizabeth did not do something quickly.

St. Aldegonde summoned the magistrates and the Broad Council and showed them letters from France which said that Henry had a force ready at Cambray to relieve Brussels within six days, and they were comforted; but almost at once came news that the King had refused all help. Brussels and Nimeguen thereupon capitulated, releasing more of Farnese's men for work round Antwerp. As soon as she heard the King's decision Elizabeth ordered inquiries to be made as to what preparations would be necessary *if* she determined to relieve Antwerp.

Provost Morillon wrote that the people of Antwerp had in times past been unwilling to fast in Lent and on days ordered by the Church, but now they would have to fast every day.

At the end of March, Farnese failed in an attempt to seize Ostend, and on the 3rd of April Justinus of Nassau, Orange's

natural son, who had succeeded Treslong as admiral, with a number of small, armed vessels from Zealand, and with assistance from Hohenlo, surprised and recaptured the Fort of Liefkenshoek. This success was followed up by the recapture of the fort of St. Anthonyshoek close by, and of Terventen and Doel, which gave the States command of all the high ground in that part. Their mistake was that they did not at once throw up a fortification at the end of the dike, as planned, which would have given them command of the bridge, and they would probably have been able to destroy it with their artillery. Instead of that, they gave the enemy time to recapture that spot and fortify it.

Preparations were made for a belated attack on the bridge, for which purpose more soldiers were brought from the garrisons at Malines and other places round Antwerp and put in Borgerhout, while citizen troops were sent to take their places. But it was difficult to use troops in an attack on the Spaniards down the river, and much more useful was Frederico Gianibelli, the Mantuan engineer already mentioned, and his colleagues. The recapture of Liefkenshoek and the forts on the left bank below the bridge had made easier the ascent of the Zealand warships, and they were to co-operate in whatever was done at the bridge.

Gianibelli was assisted by two Antwerpens—Peter Timmerman, an engineer, and Jan Bovy, a clockmaker—and they filled two vessels, "The Fortune" and "The Hope," with bombs and powder, huge stones, cannon-balls, and such stuff until they were floating mines, to be fired by a mechanical contrivance. The afternoon of the 4th of April was chosen for the attack, and it was hoped the bridge would be broken and that the Zealand fleet would be able to force the passage, get in food-ships, and destroy the whole structure. Farnese knew some sort of attack was to be made and doubled the guard on the bridge. The Antwerp fleet was collected in the river in front of the Bakers' Tower, and all arrears of pay had to be given to the mariners before they would start.

In front of the large vessels were sent smaller fire-ships, which were really to draw the attention of the Spaniards from the larger ones. Orders had been given to "Runaway Jacob" to start these in four groups of eight, but he sent them too soon after each other. The two large ships were floated after the rest and steered towards the bridge by sailors, who lighted the mines when about two thousand yards distant from it and jumped overboard. Farnese had been on the Lillo side watching the Holland and Zealand fleet, but moved on to the bridge when the fire-ships appeared. One of his officers persuaded him to retire into the Fort of St. Mary, and he had hardly entered it when "The Hope" exploded with a shock felt for miles. Some of the largest stones in her were thrown a thousand paces. The

air was full of bodies of Spaniards, of pieces of the bridge, of stones, and debris. Men were blown from one bank of the river to the other. Eight hundred of Farnese's men are said to have lost their lives and a great number were injured. The Marquis of Roubaix and many other officers were killed. A part of the destruction was wrought by the explosion of the other ship—"The Fortune"—which had appeared to be burning out harmlessly on the bank. At first Farnese was reported killed, but he was only stunned. The bridge was broken and for a short time after the explosion the Spaniards abandoned the forts; but the Hollanders and Zealanders, below the bridge, did not attack as they should have done directly they heard the explosion, and the Antwerpens were ignorant of the result. Marnix and Gianibelli had watched on the Brabant bank near the Boerenschans and sent a four-oared boat to scout and to let off a rocket if the bridge was broken, upon which the Antwerp fleet would sail. The rowers were promised two hundred gulden for news, but they were afraid to go near the bridge and came back saying it had not been broken.

The Spaniards soon recovered from the shock and that night began to repair the bridge, but even next day would not have been too late for the Holland and Zealand fleet to break through; but it did nothing. Poor Gianibelli was in danger of losing his life for the failure of his invention, until three days afterwards Hohenlo sent a messenger to tell what had really been effected. The Zealanders did indeed send some fire-ships which opened the bridge again, but not so that Farnese could not quickly repair it, and he made alterations so that it could be opened to let them pass harmlessly through. The States had again missed their opportunity.

At the beginning of May appeared in the Scheldt a vast ship—a "water-fort"—on which the besieged had expended an incredible amount of time and which was said to have cost one hundred thousand gulden, and had been in building since the beginning of the siege. Those who had laughed at it from the first said that St. Aldegonde ought to be ashamed of himself for allowing such a thing to be made, and bills were fastened to his front-door to tell him so. It was designed to tackle the forts on the Scheldt and the bridge. In expectation of its immediate success the Antwerpens gave it the name "The War's End." It sailed out to Ordam and ran aground there.

The failure to demolish the bridge made the Antwerpens realize they were cut off from Zealand and England. Malines was the only other large town in Brabant that still held out, and on the other side of Malines all was in Farnese's hands. His garrisons at Brussels, Alost, Termonde, and Ghent closed the country between Malines and his camp at Beveren; and his foothold in Zutphen, Nimeguen, Bois-le-Duc, and Breda

cut the town off from Holland. It was possible for the States to make inroads from time to time from Bergen-op-Zoom towards Antwerp, but the Spanish garrison at Breda and the troops on the right bank of the Scheldt prevented any great good coming of them. The country had been ravaged on the land side of the town by Farnese's cavalry, and his garrisons in Hoogstraeten, Breda, Lierre, and Diest, and bodies of troops who, although in small parties, scoured that part of Brabant, prevented supplies being brought from Cleves or Germany. A computation of corn made at the end of April showed that it would only last until the middle or possibly the end of July. It was therefore of paramount importance to reopen or renew the waterway to Zeeland, and as it seemed too difficult to destroy the bridge another plan was resorted to. If the Blaauwgaaren dike and the Kauwenstein dike had both been cut, as Orange and Marnix had suggested, Antwerp would have been an island and Zeeland ships could have sailed right up to it. As it was, the Kauwenstein dike stretched as a barrier across the inundated *polders* and made part of the cordon which was strangling the town. It was, therefore, decided to make an effort to pierce it.

So far as supplies went Farnese was scarcely in better plight. Nearly all his horses had died and his army was dwindling, to a large extent through desertions, so that he doubted whether he had now strength enough to take Antwerp. He had not enough men to recapture the pieces of high ground round Doel, which the Zealanders had snatched from him. Even in the early days of the siege he was expecting that the Antwerpers would repent of their folly and make an attempt to pierce the dike. The Kauwenstein was what was called a counter-dike, that is to say it ran more or less at right angles to the dike which was really the river-bank, and leaving the Scheldt between Lillo and Ordam stretched towards the village of Stabroeck. It was about three miles long and seventeen feet broad and in winter proved a useful path across fields which were sure to be water-logged and muddy; but it was not high above them. When the garrison of Lillo pierced the Scheldt dike near their fort and flooded the *polders* on that side of the Kauwenstein, as those on the other side of it had been flooded by the opening of the sluices and the piercing of the dikes on the right bank above the bridge, Farnese felt certain an attempt would be made to pierce the Kauwenstein dike. But the Antwerpers had been so sure that he could never complete his bridge that they postponed any such attempt until they found themselves cut off from Zeeland.

Farnese ordered Mansfeld and Mondragon to fortify the dike. The former held the village of Stabroeck in Brabant, where his army lay, and built a fort called that of "The Palisades," because much wood had to be used in its construction in consequence of the scarcity of earth thereabouts. Farther along the dike

was built the little fort named after St. George, and farther still another called after St. James. The forts were about a thousand paces apart. At the place where the Kauwenstein joined the Scheldt dike Farnese had already built a fort which he named "The Cross." Besides the building of the forts, the dike itself was broadened and heightened in places and protected by stakes driven into the ground and sticking up above the surface of the water. Camillo del Monte was in command of the whole dike.

The plan adopted was for the expedition from Antwerp to sail over the flooded meadows and meet the Zealanders on the dike. The first attack was made on the 7th of May. Hohenlo was waiting at Lillo, and on seeing a signal from the tower of Our Lady's Church sailed with about a hundred ships through the opening in the Scheldt dike near Lillo on to the inundated land. He had plenty of artillery on board and five hundred fighting men and pioneers to pierce the dike and all that was required to enable his troops to protect themselves while the work was going on. He made for the Fort of the Palisades where the water was deepest and the dike least protected, and finding the sentries asleep was able to effect a landing. He met with a determined resistance, and not finding the fleet from Antwerp, which was expected on the other side of the dike, retreated after being on it for an hour with the loss of some three hundred men. The casualties sustained by Farnese were very few.

The failure of the Antwerp fleet to assist is thus explained: St. Aldegonde was in Tollhouse Fort and had ordered the Ammunition Chamber to light three beacons in the tower of Our Lady's as soon as they saw a flame in the fort in which he was, but he did not tell them how much depended on the signal. The watchers therefore took upon themselves to delegate the duty to others, who were even less reliable, and mistook a fire lighted by the soldiers in Boerenschans for the signal for which they looked, and lighted the three beacons before the tide had brought enough water on to the *polders* to float the Antwerp ships up to the Kauwenstein, and so they lay at anchor and took no part in the engagement. Hohenlo having acted on the signal felt himself deserted. The attempt had done nothing beyond showing the Spaniards where to expect attack, and Farnese took the greatest care to keep the dike well prepared, going about on foot and horse from the camp to the dike and from the dike to the bridge, which was his favourite observation post, regarding neither the cold nor the water nor the pestilential miasma of the inundated ground. He kept his troops in discipline amidst water and marsh, with scarcely enough to eat and less to drink. The water for miles was salt, and drinking water and fuel had to be carried across the dikes with the

rations. He knew that on the Kauwenstein would soon be fought the battle which would determine the fate of Antwerp, and he brought to his camp every man and gun that could be spared from Flanders. Every soldier exercised great vigilance, and to stimulate their efforts Farnese allowed his constant expectation of attack to be noticed. Often signals were given from the tower of Our Lady's to the Zealand fleet, and then he went among his men to cheer them. They all slept under arms.

Part of the attack which the Antwerp-ers should have made on the 7th of May had been planned against the bridge, and several more attempts to destroy it were made by fire-ships or by heavy vessels sent down in the hope of crushing it with their weight; but the attacks came to nothing now that the bridge could be opened to allow anything threatening it to pass. The chief attack had now to be against the Kauwenstein dike, and although one of the attacks against the bridge might, by good fortune, meet with success, they were now planned more to distract the enemy's attention and to keep him near the bridge than anything else.

The great combined attack was to be on the 26th of May, the object being to make such a gap in the Kauwenstein dike that ships could sail out of the Scheldt by the break in the Scheldt dike, cut near the fort of Lillo, across the flooded ground, through the gap to be made in the Kauwenstein, across more flooded meadows between the Kauwenstein and Antwerp, out into the river again by one of the gaps made in the right bank of the river above the bridge, and so to the quays of the town.

Hohenlo and Justinus of Nassau led seven flat-bottomed hoys each having a cannon at the prow, thirty small galleys, and a large number of small boats as before through the gap in the dike near Lillo. It was about half an hour before dawn on a Sunday, and it was rather misty. In front of the flotilla they sent some fire-ships against the wooden palisade, and under the glare the boats approached the dike and ran aground all along it between St. George's Fort and that of the Palisades, and the men sprang ashore. Covered by the fire from cannon and muskets in the boats they began to entrench themselves among the sandbags, gabions, and hurdles they had brought with them with the utmost speed, while the pioneers began to pierce the dike. The Spaniards were in no way taken by surprise, for prisoners recently taken had revealed all the plans made for the attack.

During the night and before the turn of the tide the Antwerp-ers had sent down some fire-ships against the bridge to keep the Spaniards employed there, and in the morning while the Zealanders were leaving Lillo about three thousand men in one hundred boats, English under Colonel Morgan, and Scots under Colonel Balfour, led by Marnix, were leaving the river by the

gap at the Boerinneschans to be ready to land on the Antwerp side of the Kauwenstein dike. This time no mistake was made, and they soon joined the Dutchmen already on the dike, and Hohenlo and St. Aldegonde were side by side. Many pioneers and diggers had come from Antwerp and speedily they set to work at hewing gaps to demolish a great length of dike. While they worked sacks of corn were lifted out of the ships from Zealand and thrown into others on the Antwerp side of the dike, so that even if the attack failed some provisions could be taken into the town. The fight became one of the most desperate in a war which had provided many bitter struggles. The dike was narrow—fifteen to seventeen feet across—and the distance between the Forts of the Palisades and of St. George was short for so many men to fight on, and the chronicler says that hardly a blow was dealt without wounding, and hardly a wound given that was not mortal. It called for hard fighting to keep the enemy at bay while the pioneers worked, but it was more difficult still when a breach had been made, for then they rushed madly to fill it again. For six hours the patriots held Farnese's veterans at bay, and then drove them back into the forts while the pioneers worked on. A breach had been made large enough to float over the first boat full of supplies. The day seemed won, and as the boat went past Hohenlo and St. Aldegonde jumped on board and returned in it to the town, feeling that by their courage on the dike and by their example and leadership they had won victory and had freed Antwerp from the consequences of blockade.

The first news of victory had been brought by a boat at about eight o'clock in the morning, and half an hour later Hohenlo and St. Aldegonde arrived and were greeted with salutes of cannon and peals of bells. They went straight to the Town House, cheered by hundreds in the streets. Eager Antwerpers hurried down to the quay to see the boats which were to bring them food, or crowded round Hohenlo and St. Aldegonde for news. But about midday, the soldiers from the Borinneschans came running into the town by the Mud Gate shouting that all was lost after all. The people were wild with despair and said there must have been treachery again. Some were for cutting the throats of the magistrates and the colonels and making a peace of their own with Farnese.

But to return to the Kauwenstein dike. Colonel Morgan and Colonel Balfour, with their English and Scots and the Antwerpers were nearest to Fort St. George : Colonel Yselsteyn with the men from Holland and Zealand was nearest to the Fort of the Palisades, and they were left undisturbed for three hours while the diggers worked on.

Farnese had waited on the bridge anticipating an attack upon it, but hearing how things were going on the dike he collected

what troops could be spared and started to it. When he reached it he ordered every gun in the forts and on the dikes to fire on the enemy's ships and himself led his Spanish pikemen and musketeers along the dike from the Scheldt-bank. The patriots saw some of their boats on the Zeeland side moving from the dike to avoid the fire from the forts and feared being left behind. The consequence was a rapid retreat to those boats which had not pushed off; but some small success put fresh heart into the men and they came swarming out of the boats on to the dike again for another onslaught on the foe, but the ebbing tide caused a final retreat.

They had fought with the greatest valour in a struggle which had lasted for seven hours. The English and Scots had behaved splendidly and were the last to leave the dike. They were nearly all veterans, and they said they had never been in such a bloody fight. The States were said to have lost about two thousand killed or drowned, and a great many wounded; twenty-eight large vessels were taken and four sunk; sixty-five pieces of artillery and a great quantity of arms, munitions, and victuals were lost. Among the slain were Admiral Jakobzoon, Admiral of Antwerp, and the Lord of Haultain, Governor of Walcheren. Justinus of Nassau, Admiral of Zeeland, would have been drowned had he not slipped out of his armour and escaped by swimming. Of those who came out from Antwerp for the fight half were killed or drowned. The Spaniards gave no quarter and the flower of the States' army perished; but they had stood up against Philip's veterans in the open and had given a splendid account of themselves, and this might be done again and be more luckily rounded off.

Farnese was said to have lost seven hundred killed, of whom four hundred were Spaniards, and over five hundred wounded. In their anger the Spaniards repaired the breaches which had been made in the dike with the corpses of the patriots.

On the day after this fight a great many ships came up to Lillo full of victuals from Zeeland, for report said that the dike was cut and the way clear into Antwerp.

The general feeling among Englishmen in the Netherlands was that the dike would have been cut and the siege of Antwerp raised if Elizabeth had sent two or three thousand men to fight for the States, and that the defeat was due to lack of men. They agreed that the soldiers, although they fought valiantly, would have achieved even greater distinction if they had been better led, and if they had been better supported by gun-fire from the boats and galleys. If the dike had been held for half an hour longer—so it was said—enough food could have been sent into the town to enable it to hold out for a year.

George Gilpin, the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers wrote to Walsingham, from Middelburg, as soon as the news of

the defeat was known, that the Queen ought to send troops under able commanders "to resume the matter and not to leave off till the river opened, or new passage made."¹ But if it were to be done no time was to be lost, for wind and tide would not long remain favourable at that season of the year.

Farnese, for his part, regarded Antwerp as already won and the Antwerpens as beaten on both land and water, and he doubted if they would ask for more fighting. He sent the Count of Arenberg, Charles Mansfeld, and other officers, who had not had a chance on the Kauwenstein dike, to capture "The War's End." This floating castle was one hundred and twenty feet long and sixty wide, and could carry twelve great pieces of artillery and hold a thousand musketeers. Besides "The War's End" it had other nicknames—"The Antwerp Folly," "The Elephant," "The Noah's Ark." The expedition sent by Farnese went out on the 28th of May and found the monster still aground near Ordam and dismantled of artillery and emptied of munitions and stores. Its crew and garrison fled, and it fell an easy prey to the Spaniards with some smaller ships and was brought down to the bridge in triumph. The Spaniards' favourite name for it was "Carantamaula"—a thing with which to frighten children.

The cheers which had greeted Hohenlo as the deliverer of Antwerp when he jumped on to the quay from the first boat over the Kauwenstein dike had turned into shouts of execration when the sequel to his departure from it became known. He and Marnix urged the people to hold out a little longer. He made a farewell speech to this effect and fled that very evening with only sixteen horsemen to Bergen-op-Zoom and then rejoined the fleet at Lillo.

There was an immense number of strangers in the town—many from Liège and the Walloon Provinces—who could only be counted as so many mouths to fill. These were destitute folk who had to be fed by the Guesthouses, that is to say, at the expense of the Almoners, and a revolution might have broken out at any moment. We find sums of money were sent for the Antwerp poor by the French Church in London, the Netherland Church at Norwich, the town of Colchester, Sandwich, London, Vienna, Cologne, Frankfort, Wesel, Nuremberg, and Aix-la-Chapelle, as well as by a number of towns in Zealand.

A fresh visitation for grain of all kinds and for food made of grain on the 1st of June revealed that there was not as much as the magistrates had expected, but almost as little as reports to Spain had said there was, that is to say, it would barely suffice for five weeks. Out of this provision had to be made for Malines. No doubt a lot was concealed by its owners. The allowance of bread was reduced to two-thirds of what it had been before the failure on the Kauwenstein dike, and the magis-

¹ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1584-5, p. 479.

trates fixed the price of bread, took all grain from the brewers, and forbade brewing of beer excepting at four specified breweries, to be used by all brewers in turn, and there was nothing for the poor to drink but water, which was recognized in Antwerp as a dreadful state of things. The price of the little beer that was brewed was fixed. The duty was taken off wine and a pot of Rhine wine could be bought for three stivers. Now the people wished they had followed Gianibelli's advice about storing grain, for the rich had not laid in two years' supply as it had been hoped they would, being afraid it would be taken from them, as, indeed, it was from some who had it. Men were enlisted on half-pay to keep them employed, but their pay soon ran short, for the people refused to provide the huge sums called for.

Farnese was destroying all the corn in the fields and burning the barns round the town and the mills. His army was now reduced to about seven thousand, but it was pretty well supplied with provisions at the moment from Liège and Artois. He had lost a great number of his Spaniards, and the bulk of his army was now Walloons, Burgundians, and Germans. Probably he had only about two thousand Spaniards and eight hundred Italians.

The Hollanders and Zealanders made a few more attacks on the bridge, but the Antwerpers had lost heart and did nothing more in their own defence. The people were tired of promises and discussed how negotiations with Farnese could best be opened. The Guilds met for that purpose and presented a Request to the magistrates, and some of the richest citizens were known to be meeting with the same object in view. The magistrates sent deputies to Holland and Zealand to try to get some victuals thrown into the town ; but what could be done ?

Farnese recaptured the Boerenschans and in it were Scots who had fought on the Kauwenstein dike and had for the most part lost their equipment there and remained unarmed. The loss of this fort put an end to sending down fire-ships against the bridge. When it had come to actual fighting the English and Scots had done invaluable work for the States—it was said that every English captain who fought on the Kauwenstein dike was wounded. But there were some acts of gross treachery on the part of the soldiers of both nations, and they had, very naturally, not been behind others in mutinies for pay. Morgan's English regiment even mutinied during the siege, encouraged to it by some of their captains. They had been recruited in England for the States of Brabant by Morgan after the siege had begun, and sent in detachments through Zealand to Antwerp. On arrival they were put into the village of Borgerhout, where Morgan joined them in the beginning of December, expecting to find at least seventeen hundred, but found not more than four hundred fit for service. They had arrived without arms or

equipment, and the States deducted from their pay the cost of both. At the beginning of their service they had to subsist on bread and cheese, and, if they wanted meat, on cats and dogs. The States said that Morgan received more of their pay than he disbursed, and he said that much of it stuck to the fingers of the captains. Anyway, the condition of the men was sufficiently bad although the States, without much sense of humour, pointed out that it was, if anything, better than that of other soldiers in their service, who usually got only two months' pay in six, which was less than the English received. They were usually employed in convoying supplies to Brussels, and they did this exceedingly well; but the expedition was full of danger from ambushes, for the enemy had almost always learnt their movements from spies. As Colonel Morgan said, the service of the States was scarcely profitable. They lived once for ten weeks on bread and cheese and stray Flemish dogs and without pay, and when at last it came their clothes were so shabby and their debts so heavy that it did not last long. The regiment was only kept together by Walsingham's exhortations to keep on until the French King came to their rescue. The new year found them in rotten houses in Borgerhout, sleeping on the bare earth, clad in rags and half-frozen and, of course, half starved. Few had been killed in action, but a good number had deserted, and many were sent to hospital in the town. They had to beg or else carry wood to sell at the gates of Antwerp. We cannot determine whether the States of Brabant were entirely to blame for the want of discipline in the regiment, or how much of it should rest on Colonel Morgan and the officers. When a false report said they had been ordered to return to England the news "made the half dead in the hospital to come out into their quarter and skip for joy." What did these poor fellows think of the men they had come to fight for? As they were not allowed to wander into the town they probably did not know much about them, but they saw what went on one day when an attack was to be made on the bridge with fire-ships and Marnix had gone into the fort of Austruweel to direct it. When the flotilla of boats that was to escort the fire-ships was off Austruweel the captains and mariners mutinied for pay, although they were mostly Antwerpens and their pay was only one month in arrears, and the least important mariner drew pay at the rate of ten gulden a month and his rations. Marnix called them "Spanish villains," and they shouted back that he was a "French villain." The attack did not take place.

The Englishmen's share in the attack on the bridge had been to be stowed aboard ship for eight days waiting to be made use of, and they had no rations or money provided. They came out of the ship not having had food for three days. But nothing seems to have deterred the regiment from fighting as heartily

as if the spoils of rich cities were to be their reward. Some deserted, but those who stayed for the fight on the dike made the Netherlanders think of the men who had fought a Crécy. So many fell there that Morgan had to reduce the regiment to two companies; but their valour inspired the States-General in Holland to commission him to raise another ten companies of such men. Elizabeth, before the end of the siege, arranged for the payment of part of what was due to them—a matter which did her reputation much harm, for they were then supposed to be in her service, and it was said that if she sent troops to relieve Antwerp they would come without arms as these men had done.

St. Aldegonde was for holding the town, but he knew it could not be for long if help were not sent. He realized he could no longer keep the people in the belief that help would come from France, for they knew of the troubled state of that country, caused—as every one was now saying—by two religions being allowed to exist side by side. The project dear to him had been that the French should send help supported by Elizabeth's subsidies; he never wanted to see English soldiers in their Queen's pay in the Provinces. The League, with Philip at the back of it, was likely to keep Henry III busy for some time. In England lay the only chance of rescue.

On the 5th of June, the States-General asked Elizabeth to send help to Antwerp and Malines at once while negotiations between her and them were in progress, otherwise the towns would be lost; and if she had sent it at any time in June or July she could have saved Antwerp. In order to postpone the evil day St. Aldegonde told the tale that Leicester was already on the way; but he took another step which he conceived to be in the interest of the people in his charge, the wisdom of which was called in question when it was known, and particularly after the town had been surrendered. He sent a letter in his own name to Farnese by one of the drummers who as was the custom came from the enemy's camp to the gates of the town with letters. This communication never reached Farnese, so St. Aldegonde, with the consent of some of the magistrates and colonels, wrote to Ricardot, the President of the Council of Artois, who answered at once.

In the hope of gaining time for their correspondence to bear fruit of some kind the magistrates tried to send away three or four thousand useless mouths—women and children and beggars—but only five or six hundred even started, and many of these went out at one gate and came in again by another on the next day. A lot of mischief was done by a captain named Edward van Gistele, who came out from a meeting of the Broad Council spreading the rumour that the colonels and captains meant to murder all the Catholics on a certain night. The people believed what he said and many remained in arms for several days.

Gistele was put in prison and remained there until the town surrendered. By the end of June the besieged were even more than before in favour of parleying with Farnese, for he had captured Borgerhout and other places near the town and had shut them close up within the walls. Crowds collected outside St. Aldegonde's house and shouted for peace; but there were still men in the town who tried to kill him in the streets for what they considered his treachery in corresponding with the enemy. There was much less food in the town than St. Aldegonde dared to let the people know, but they hated the bread which they had to eat, made of all sorts of things, and admitted to be horrible stuff. Butter was rarely seen or cheese or salt fish. There was soon no mutton and very little beef. St. Aldegonde expected that the people would revolt and hand the town over to the enemy. Restrictions put on the sale of beer had filled the streets with rioters in times of peace, and now there was hardly any beer at all. St. Aldegonde knew Antwerp well enough to be sure things could not go on like that.

The Hollanders and Zealanders said they could not make any useful attacks on the bridge. The wind was favourable for something of the kind at the end of June, but they did nothing. By day it was impossible in face of the Spanish artillery, and in order to attempt anything during the short summer nights it was necessary to catch a favourable wind, which only blew two or three days a month. The truth was that the future of both these Northern Provinces depended on their fleets, which they did not like risking to save a town which might again become a commercial rival if the Spaniards were driven away. Hohenlo was the only person of any note who could and would stir in an enterprise. He was always for action, and wrote to St. Aldegonde that he would come one night with a great number of horses laden with flour as far as the House of Eckeren and wanted St. Aldegonde on his side to come secretly with boats and ships to take it into the town, but Marnix said it was impossible.

So Marnix summoned the Broad Council and informed the colonels and captains that there was no hope of relief from England or Holland or Zealand or anywhere else. Only two of the eight colonels seem to have approved of the course taken; but on the 6th of July the Broad Council resolved to approach Farnese. Most of the captains, like the people, were in favour of surrender, but the Calvinist ministers did what they could, even in the Broad Council, to arouse the town to further resistance, and they succeeded in screwing the courage of many to the sticking point. The intrepid Hohenlo sallied out of the Fort of Liefkenshoek on the 11th of July and attacked the nearest Spanish fort, but he was driven back, and another attack on it also failed. In an attack on the bridge Hohenlo set part of it

on fire by means of fire-ships and sank some of the boats of which it was composed, but the Zealand fleet did not join in, perhaps because the tide was not favourable at the time.

Negotiations were opened on the 9th of July, on which day a deputation, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Van Duffel, Van Schoonhoven, and Van Hessel, went out to the Spanish headquarters at Beveren, and were received by Noircarmes and two hundred Spanish gentlemen dressed in velvet, and were taken in a coach trimmed with crimson velvet to their lodging. They were entertained at a banquet in the evening, and next day, after Mass, Farnese gave them audience in the midst of his soldiers. The basis on which negotiations were to be opened was to be that all the Provinces should be included, that liberty to exercise the New Religion should be granted, and that no castle should be built near the town or garrison introduced into it. Farnese and St. Aldegonde had a private interview of an hour's duration, a fact which was brought up against the latter afterwards. While they were thus engaged the other deputies went to see the bridge and "The War's End."

Hohenlo made his abortive attack on the bridge while the embassy was with Farnese, and on the 12th of July the deputies who had been sent to Holland returned to Antwerp. They were posted by the States from Middelburg by the Bergen-op-Zoom road with a cavalry escort and travelled by night. They expressed the good wishes of the States and gave assurances that Colonel Norris was ready to start from England with a sufficient force to relieve the town and that the Dutch were ready to break the bridge.¹ Norris was near London with three thousand men, and in the Netherlands it was supposed he was going to embark at once. Two hundred Zealand ships were lying below Lillo waiting for wind and tide.

Farnese gave his answer on the 12th of July, and he made it clear that the negotiations must be on behalf of Antwerp alone, and must not be expected to embrace Holland or Zealand. No offer made to Antwerp was to be taken to apply to them. As for Antwerp, the past would be forgiven and the burgomasters and magistrates were to endeavour to persuade Holland and Zealand to come to terms with Philip. This last provision was quite in accordance with what St. Aldegonde desired for Antwerp, for he foresaw that if the town made peace with Philip and was not followed in it by the Provinces which commanded the mouth of the Scheldt, the ruin of her trade would be the result. But Farnese believed that the negotiations were entered upon by Antwerp in part to gain time to provision the town, and he moved cavalry to cut off all supplies from the country. The deputation returned to Antwerp.

¹ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1584-85, p. 579. This would be the 2nd of July in the old style, still used in England.

Those who wanted to prolong resistance put it about among the people that Farnese had promised the sack of the town to his soldiers for their arrears of pay. He probably heard of this, for he certainly wished to give some remarkable proof of his clemency, and Strada tells the following story. An Antwerp lady who was ill required ass's milk, which had to be found outside the town. A boy volunteered to get it although the outskirts were occupied by the enemy. He was taken prisoner and brought before Farnese, who sent a she-ass, some partridges, Bruges capons, game, and chickens to the lady with his best wishes for her recovery, and told the boy to bear witness that he wished the town of Antwerp prosperity and happiness. This small incident gained him many hearts, and in return the magistrates sent him some sweetmeats and some of the best wine they had.

While the peace negotiations were going on everything went awry. When Colonel Moucheron and other colonels were sent out at night to get in any corn still to be found near the town, the Military Guild on guard at the Red Gate tried to stop them, and Moucheron would have been killed if St. Aldegonde had not come up. The tumult broke out again next day, and a troop of townspeople shouted for peace before St. Aldegonde's lodging and all through the streets. The Horse Market by the Red Gate was the centre of the trouble, and St. Aldegonde went there and argued with the people. They were in arms and refused for a long time to go home, but grew quieter in answer to his coaxing and threatening. Within an hour they were on foot again and armed. The Margrave arrested a ringleader, who was rescued by the mob, and so on, until even those who would have preserved order by force and held the town until the last saw that the end had come.

While the Broad Council was considering Farnese's terms the town of Malines surrendered and Willebroeck and other forts, and Antwerp was in a worse position than ever. The people had relied too long and too often on promises of help sent by those who were themselves far away, and for their own ends wanted the town to hold out as long as possible. The people rioted before the Town House, crying, "Peace! Peace!" Therefore it was decided by the authorities to send twenty-one deputies to Farnese to treat with him.

There were certain points on which the Broad Council gave the commissioners no authority to indicate the least chance of surrender: permission to exercise the Calvinist religion must be guaranteed, no castle must be built or garrison introduced, the foreign soldiers must be withdrawn, and no indemnity must be demanded. But, however anxious the colonels and captains were that no particle of these conditions preliminary to any discussion should be abandoned, they had no doubt that if

Farnese roughly refused to concede them the result would be such a riot among the rabble that the Broad Council would have to decide on a surrender, even though it might by then have to be an unconditional one.

The news that on the 18th of July Henry III had allied himself with the Catholic League must have proved to St. Aldegonde the utter futility of the reliance which the Calvinists had placed on the French King for so long. The news from France was indeed more likely than anything that had yet occurred to wring assistance from Elizabeth, for she, Henry of Navarre, and the States stood now against all Catholics; and, as Motley says, "Antwerp was the hinge on which the fate of the whole country" (that is the Provinces), "perhaps of all Christendom, was to turn."¹ So far from helping Antwerp, Elizabeth had not prevented supplies being sent from England to Farnese, without which he could not have maintained the siege, and she had waited to see what would be the result of the attack on the Kauwenstein dike in May. Had the English fleet gone up the Scheldt and taken part in that memorable fight the town would probably have been saved. Elizabeth did not want the sovereignty of the Provinces, but demanded that certain towns should be handed over to her,—not only as security for money, but so that there might be some places which she could be sure would not be handed over to the Spaniards by traitors, as so many others had been. While this bargaining was going on, the doom of Antwerp became more certain. On the morning of the 21st of July a messenger sent by Hohenlo brought a letter from Elizabeth promising help. It was read to the magistrates and the Council and "all were glad."

On the 26th of July (n.s.), Steven le Sieur wrote to Walsingham from Antwerp saying that the necessity in the town was not so great that an immediate composition must be made, but that the reason the embassy had been sent to Farnese was that Holland and Zealand did little for the town that brought forth any fruit, and that there was small hope of any help from England.² It was said that a single Dutch hoy had broken through the bridge—though the rumour lacked confirmation—and the people had seen the fleet miss wind after wind, when two favourable hours should, they thought, be enough to enable the fleet to force the bridge and send in twenty or thirty corn-ships, which would enable the town to hold out for another year. But if there had been sufficient food in the town at this time, the poor had no money with which to buy it, and the price demanded was very high, and so the multitude of poor who had flocked to the town and had not been ejected, as they should have been, continued to shout for peace in a menacing way.

¹ "United Netherlands," Vol. I, p. 132, ed. 1869.

² "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1584-85, p. 605.

A letter written on the 27th of July (n.s.) by an unknown writer to the Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom said that if the fleet could not relieve the town within a week the only thing was to send someone like Hohenlo to cope with "the traitor," for all were astonished at the way in which he hurried and pushed the treaty. The letter adds, that "the traitor," by whom, of course, was meant St. Aldegonde, showed only such letters as he pleased to the other authorities and deciphered them as he pleased and that the town thereby was left in ignorance of all that Elizabeth and the States-General promised.¹ This letter was written on the day after St. Aldegonde and the other commissioners had gone to Beveren, and fairly displays what was thought by those whom experience had not yet taught how much to trust to promises.

The States-General looked on Antwerp as an outer fort which when it fell would bring the enemy so much the nearer to Holland and Zealand, and Elizabeth looked on it in much the same way ; and though its fall would be deplored the risk which its relief might entail to the Zealand fleet deterred the States just as the unwillingness to go to war with Philip made Elizabeth postpone sending help until what she believed to be the very last moment. All those who could not bring themselves to contemplate living under the old regime again had left Antwerp or would do so after the surrender if Farnese would grant them such terms. The spirit which had exalted the inhabitants of Leyden above other people was non-existent in the town. The majority of the inhabitants wanted to surrender, and St. Aldegonde was not disposed to hold the town against their will, and afterwards see them massacred as a consequence. If the English did come, the people thought they would probably come without arms, just as Morgan's men had done in the preceding autumn. The Antwerp citizens were not going to do more fighting themselves than they could possibly help. When Lillo had been suddenly attacked the "Bachelors" and some of the men of the Military Guilds had gone into it until Scots could be found to hold it ; and they did very well, making many sallies and keeping Mondragon off ; and citizens had taken part in the attempt to seize Lierre ; but of all the twenty thousand citizens in arms whose appearance and discipline had astonished every one at Anjou's arrival, and of all the men so fond of firing off salutes of harquebuses which shook the town, there were few who expected to be called on to do more than guard the gates or the walls. Antwerp-born mariners demanded to be paid before they went into action, but when the fighting on the Kauwenstein dike had to be done "those from Antwerp" proved, on examination, to be almost all Englishmen and Scots who had been unpaid all the winter, ragged, reduced to half their strength by sickness

¹ "Cal. St. Pap., For.," 1584-85, p. 605.

and half starved, fighting for a town they did not belong to and which they were not allowed to enter and for employers who would not pay them.

The fall of Malines had made some impression on Elizabeth, and on the 30th of July (n.s.) she signed letters for the levying of men. Her Council favoured war with Philip, but the Queen hesitated. On the representations of Junius that Antwerp might fall while negotiations were in progress (for the States' deputies had been in England since the 4th of July, n.s.) Walsingham promised immediate help for the town; but in the event Junius was informed that the two thousand men who were to be sent could not embark until August (o.s.) was over, and he told Walsingham that under those circumstances he had no doubt that Antwerp would surrender on terms and would not wait for a rope to be put round her neck ¹

In August it was thought in England that Antwerp could hold out for some time; but on the 12th (n.s.) Elizabeth made a provisional treaty with the States-General for the relief of Antwerp and promised to send assistance to the States. On the same day Prince Maurice and the Council of State promised to relieve the town within fifteen days, even if help did not come from England and even if all their army and navy had to be risked and lost and the defence of the Netherlands in the future be left to England,² and preparations were made which were only interrupted by news that Antwerp had surrendered.

When St. Aldegonde's wife and a number of ladies reached Flushing from Antwerp, followed by three carts full of furniture and luggage, it was felt that her husband was on the point of giving up the town, and people laughed when she said she had had to escape from Antwerp secretly, for they knew she travelled with Farnese's passport.

The deputies sent to Beveren included Marnix, and the three who had gone with him on the previous occasion and were representative of the States of Brabant, the Magistrates, the *Poorters*, the Deans of Guilds, the Colonels and Captains. Farnese referred them to the Privy Council and long discussions ensued before the terms could be agreed. The deputies were able to return to Antwerp on the 9th of August, and on the next day laid the suggested terms of surrender before the Broad Council. The sitting was a long one and hungry people gathered in the great Market Place to await the result, crying out for peace. Some of the members of the Broad Council looked down on them from the windows of the great Chamber and feared a rebellion.

The treaty of reconciliation was signed on the 17th of August, 1585. By its terms Antwerp was to return to obedience to Philip, all treaties made to his prejudice were to be renounced.

¹ "Cal. St. Pap. For.," 1584-85, p. 634.

² Same, p. 648.

the inhabitants were to be treated with all tenderness and paternal affection in spite of the past, old commercial treaties were to be continued and, where possible, renewed to the advantage of the town. A General Pardon was to be declared for all *poorters* and inhabitants, whether they were present or absent, for everything done during the troubles. As for those of other towns and Provinces not reconciled who were in Antwerp, they must either depart or promise to give no further trouble. All might keep their property in spite of confiscations. Those who were in enemy countries must return within three months if they wanted to share in the benefits of this treaty. *Poorters* and inhabitants could remain four years in the town without being disturbed about their consciences or made to take fresh oaths, if they lived quietly, in order that they might have plenty of time to make up their minds whether or not they would live in the old manner. Otherwise, at the end of the four years they must depart taking their property with them, or if they chose to leave it behind it could be administered for them by someone. Prelates, members of colleges, chapters, cloisters, and hospitals who had remained loyal to Philip were to be reinstated. All the privileges of the town were to be enjoyed. Any *poorter* or inhabitant who wished might depart with wife, family, and property, by sea or land, without hindrance or passport, and could come back if he afterwards changed his mind. Those who wished to go on business to a place not yet reconciled could return within six months of the treaty to reside under Philip, who promised to try to prevent citizens of Antwerp being arrested for the town's debts. The town was to restore the churches. Prisoners were to be released on either side—excepting Teligny, about whom the King had to be consulted. All the artillery, munitions, and ships of war in the town were to be given up at once. Farnese was to enter with two thousand infantry and two companies of cavalry—Germans or Walloons, but not Spaniards or Italians. If Holland and Zealand submitted Antwerp was to be relieved of its castle and garrison; until then it, being a frontier town, must have both, but the magistrates were to be consulted when possible about their employment. The town was to pay four hundred thousand gulden within a reasonable time. St. Aldegonde was to promise not to bear arms against Philip for a year.

The Calvinists had hoped to be allowed churches in which to exercise their religion, but it was evident from the beginning of the negotiations that Farnese had no intention of making such a concession. It had been found that heretics in the towns which had fallen to Farnese were flocking to the Catholic churches in such numbers that there were not enough priests to confess and absolve them.

Some Englishmen thought such good terms would make all

other towns want peace. Sir Roger Williams thought so, and wrote from Flushing that the fall of Antwerp was entirely due to Elizabeth. The bad news reached England on the 22nd of August, two days after Elizabeth had ratified the general treaty with the States. She did not accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands, but by the treaty the next piece of work after relieving Antwerp was to have been to assist the States in the north. Colonel Norris and English troops were embarking at Queenborough on the day before the town surrendered, and it was hoped to get them to it by the 25th of August, if it had held out so long, and a man swam from Lillo with the news. Norris disembarked at Veere on Walcheren on the 19th of August, and by the 21st two thousand of the four thousand men he commanded were in Middelburg; but it was all too late.

On the 11th of August the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece had been conferred on Farnese by Count Mansfeld, the oldest Knight of the Order, in a Chapter held in Fort St. Philip. This was an honour conferred by Philip, the Sovereign of the Order, for his services in the Netherlands. Salutes were fired at the bridge and at the forts round it, and the watchers on the tower of the cathedral sent down word that it was either an English or a French fleet approaching. The Council was at the moment discussing the terms of surrender and fresh hopes sprang in men's bosoms until they discovered the truth.

On the 20th of August the articles of the treaty were recited before the Town House in the presence of Farnese's deputies, and then a herald-at-arms in the King of Spain's tabard held his hand on high and exclaimed three times, "Long live the King of Spain!" and all the crowd echoed the cry while the clergy, who had already returned, sang *Te Deum* in the cathedral. Then there was a feast in the Town House. The magistrates had asked for a few days to enable them to prepare a welcome for their conqueror. The *nations* of merchants who still remained, particularly the Genoese, and the guilds tried to outshine each other as in days of old.

On the 27th of August two thousand four hundred German and Walloon infantry and four hundred cavalry entered the town. Farnese came on the same day by St. George's Gate at the head of his bodyguard and accompanied by the Duke of Arschot; his son, the Prince of Chimay; Count Ernest Mansfeld and his son Charles; the Count of Arenberg; Count Egmont; the Count of Haultepenne, and some two hundred nobles and gentlemen. The burgomasters and magistrates and deans of the guilds went to meet him and the beautiful Maid of Antwerp presented the keys of the town, one of iron and one of gold, and these Farnese fastened to his collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Crowds had flocked to the town to see the pageant and the

streets were full. Farnese's soldiers were posted at strategical points lest anything should happen, but all seemed to welcome him. The windows were filled by ladies and people climbed to the roofs to see him. On the Meer were figures of Alexander of Macedon and of Alexander of Rome. The same engineers who had tried to snatch victory from him now did him honour with their devices, even using machines they had prepared for battles.

The ecclesiastics had already set up altars in the cathedral, and after hearing Mass there the conqueror went along the High Street to the castle. Among the "triumphs" and shows set up along the route was a phoenix, erected by the Genoese, sitting on its nest, and so large that its wings stretched to the houses on either side of the High Street.

The Spanish and Italian soldiers who were not admitted to the town rejoiced in their camp and turned the bridge into an arch of triumph. Farnese came out to them and ordered a feast, being pleased at the spontaneous manifestations of pleasure unusual with them. The feast was made on the Scheldt dikes and the Duke of Arschot and other Netherland nobles carried viands and waited on the soldiers. Thousands came, even from foreign countries, to see the famous bridge, the Kauwenstein dike, the forts and works of which there had been so much talk in military circles. The bridge was soon destroyed and then Farnese reviewed his Spanish and Italian veterans at Stabroeck and gave their pay to as many as he could. After making Mondragon commandant of the castle, Farnese left for Brussels with St. Aldegonde, with whom he became so friendly that the English Government feared that if the States allowed the defender of Antwerp to join his family in Zeeland, as he desired, the whole country would soon be persuaded by him to submit to Philip. Farnese set himself to prepare for operations against the States in the lower region of the Meuse.

CHAPTER XIII

AFTER THE BLOCKADE

ON St. George's Day, the 23rd of April, in the year 1485, the Military Guilds and a number of other citizens of Antwerp had gone out under the Margrave, and with the help of some Germans lent to them by Maximilian had taken by storm a fort built by the Flemings on Kloppersdyke and had destroyed a boom of some sort which these trade-rivals of theirs had stretched across the Scheldt below the town. On that day and with that victory may be said to have begun the tremendous commercial prosperity of Antwerp, which had increased until the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis foreshadowed the upheaval to be caused by the disputes about religion. This prosperity was great until April, 1572, when Flushing fell into the hands of the Sea-Beggars. After that those who held Flushing had the commercial existence of Antwerp at their mercy, and it was only by agreement with them that even neutral ships could go up the river. So when in August, 1585, a hundred years after the fight on Kloppersdyke, Antwerp surrendered to Philip, the Zealanders closed the Scheldt as against an enemy. The war was not over when Philip ceded the "obedient" Provinces, which became known as the Spanish and later as the Austrian Netherlands, and later still as Belgium, to his daughter, Clara Eugenia Isabella, and her consort, the Archduke Albert. The truce between Spain and the United Provinces (1606) brought no relief to Antwerp, and by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) the Scheldt was closed and Antwerp became an inland town.

Some thought Philip bore special hatred in his heart against Antwerp for opposing him in the past and would not have opened the Scheldt to her if it had been in his power to do so. Along with her commerce disappeared her industries. It was not only that merchants had ceased to bring their merchandise, shop-keepers to stock their booths, and money-men to meet on Bourse or transact business in their counting-houses, and that therefore the town ceased to flourish, but the peasants round it were ruined by the presence of Farnese's soldiers and the ravaging and robbing they indulged in, treating friend and foe alike. Hundreds of households left Brabant, and for want of labourers the land remained untilled and houses fell into ruins, while the towns in Holland and Zealand became so crowded that the circuits of walls had to be increased. The roads in Brabant

began to disappear, grass grew in the streets and on the roofs of houses, dikes were left insecure, and canals became foul. The garden of Europe became a wilderness. Whole villages were abandoned, and as the people disappeared their places were taken by wolves, which occupied empty houses and devoured children, carried off from their cradles and even from their mother's arms. Cattle fell an easy prey to these beasts, whom hunger sometimes incited to attack grown men and women. A man might find a litter of young wolves anywhere, even in his bed. It was reckoned that in one year within a radius of two miles round Ghent wolves devoured one hundred men. Stray dogs became almost as bad as the wolves. The historian Hooft had it from an eyewitness that a woman who had for some reason failed to gain admittance to a house at night was found next morning with her breasts torn from her body by dogs. The people in town and country in Brabant, and Flanders now restored to "obedience," experienced a fate as bad as that endured to better purpose by those who held the town of Leyden against the Spaniards. The Hollanders and Zeelanders allowed no grain to come up the river and the Antwerpens found the blockade had not ceased with their reconciliation with Philip.

Prices did not rise directly after the fall of the town ; indeed, they were lower than in neighbouring countries because there were so few to buy, but the land was allowed to remain uncultivated, and a complete failure of harvest led to a sudden and enormous rise in prices in 1586-1587. By 1588 the fields were cultivated and the worst was over ; but during those three years the price of wheat had risen from one and one-third of a gulden a *viertal* to twenty-eight or even thirty-two gulden and had gone down again to the lower price.

In the once rich town of Antwerp men and women searched dust-heaps for bits of peal, cabbage-stalks, or anything that would keep them alive. A dog found dead in a street at Bruges was eagerly devoured, and soon hitherto unknown diseases made their appearance. There were a few who had ready money and paid whatever was asked for food—twenty-two gulden for a cod-fish, seven stivers apiece for oysters, nine gulden for a pound of meat, eight stivers for a pound of butter. Well-to-do citizens had to sell their jewels and furniture and then their land and houses at a very low price or pledge or mortgage them—a hectare of good land being sold for twenty-five or even ten gulden. In the chief towns in Brabant people clad in silk garments were seen, when it was dark, begging in the streets.¹

Round Antwerp the country was a wilderness as far as Turnhout. Some of the villages in the Campine had lost all their inhabitants by 1587 and others were reduced to a few families. Fear of attack by wolves prevented anyone walking

¹ Bor ; Hooft ; Meteren.

unarmed for longer than a quarter of an hour from Antwerp, for the woods were full of them. They were hunted and caught and put on show or sold and sent away.

The Dutch and the English having left Antwerp to her last gasp now feared for themselves and blamed St. Aldegonde for not having held out longer. A note written in the town as early as the June before the surrender shows that some citizens thought then that he was being won over by means of Spanish gold.¹

In point of fact, the scarcity of provisions in the town was much greater than most of the inhabitants supposed, and Marnix was well aware of the condition of things. Writing to Walsingham from the Sas of Ghent on the 27th of August (n.s.) he excused himself by saying that lack of food prevented a longer resistance, and boasted that as it was Antwerp had held out longer than any town which had been ultimately compelled to surrender, although faced by greater scarcity. Right up to the end rye bread and white bread were distributed to keep up appearances, and people were astounded to find how little grain was left at the time of the surrender. Farnese said that had he known of it his terms would have been more severe. On the third day after the town surrendered there was no bread in it and Farnese had to send supplies from Burght and Malines or the people would have starved, and for some time no beer was brewed.

St. Aldegonde having always been known to favour a French alliance more than an English one, La Noue's opinion that he could not have prolonged the siege may be thought to have been evoked by friendship. Despondency influenced him more than treacherous thoughts, and he hoped to induce all the Provinces to return to obedience in consideration of the grant of some sort of religious toleration. He was greatly impressed by Farnese's personality—overpowered by it—and recognized his magnificent qualities, but he was mistaken if he thought that Philip would grant anything more than a temporary toleration of the new religion. The King indeed wrote to Farnese that he would do that much for Antwerp or any town which surrendered, as he had already done for those which had returned to obedience; but he insisted that it was of prime importance to allow and maintain only the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, without tolerating or consenting to the exercise of any other cult in any town or place. A heretic must be converted or get out; but while he was considering his position the King would not insist on inquiry being made as to what went on in private so long as scandal and offence were avoided.²

It had seemed to Marnix, as it had to many others, when Orange was dead, that the States had no leader, for Prince

¹ Pouillet, etc., "Granvelle," Vol. XII, p. 281.

² Same, Vol. XII, p. 339, etc.

Maurice was young, and from every point of view further resistance seemed useless, and he remembered that even his friends the French had failed the States time after time. He had never really favoured any reliance being put on Elizabeth, and although he knew that English troops were embarking in England to relieve Antwerp he was guided by experience which had taught him that they might yet be held back in safety by the parsimonious queen unless and until she was convinced—which she might not yet be—that England's fate depended on that of Antwerp. But even if Elizabeth really meant to strike a blow in defence of Antwerp she could do little unless she sent cavalry, of which the States had hardly any, to force a way by land, or else had the co-operation of the Holland and Zeeland fleet. The States-General had assured Antwerp that this fleet should act, but over and over again it had missed the favourable wind, and Marnix knew that the future of the Dutch depended on their fleet remaining intact, whereas the fall of Antwerp to Spain would be to them little more than the loss of an outer rampart.

For months the States had carried on a campaign round Zutphen, in their own defence, when a more generous and patriotic policy called for the protection of Ypres, Bruges, Alost, Gand, and Termonde. The fall of these towns had led to that of Vilvoorde, Brussels, Malines, and finally Antwerp. At all events, Marnix saved the people from massacre and pillage; but he was no soldier and failed to "command" in the town.

Philip was delighted with the news, and getting up as soon as he received it—midnight though it was—he knocked at his daughter Isabella's door and cried, "Antwerp is ours." He had never appeared to be so pleased with anything—neither the victory at St. Quentin nor the conquest of Portugal nor the victory at Terceira. An armada could now be sent against England, and when that country was subdued it would be far easier to reduce the northern Netherland Provinces to obedience; but Philip was to find that since Flushing was in the patriots' hands they could prevent his using Antwerp, the Sas of Ghent, Sluis, or any part of the Scheldt as a base against England when his great fleet came.

Elizabeth fell ill when she heard of the surrender of Antwerp. If Farnese could have invaded the Northern Provinces at once he might have met with great success, but he lacked men and money, for all Philip's resources were needed to fit out the Armada. In December, 1585, the Earl of Leicester sailed to take command of the English army in the Provinces, which was as large as it could be at a time when Elizabeth was expecting invasion. When Antwerp fell Farnese held all of the Southern Provinces excepting Ostend and Sluis. Sir Roger Williams and eight hundred Englishmen went over from Flushing to

strengthen the garrison of the latter important seaport, to which Farnese laid siege in June, 1587, and which he took in August in spite of an effort by Leicester to relieve it. But it was not much use to Philip as a port while the enemy held Flushing. The flat-bottomed barges, hoys, and so on which were to transport his troops across the channel when the Armada came were collected at Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Nieuport none of which could contain the fleet of great ships which was coming from Spain. The invading army was to land between Dover and Margate; and while all these preparations were being made in Flanders and in Spain, Philip kept up a peace talk with Elizabeth to throw her off her guard. She longed to get back to the days of undisturbed commercial intercourse between England, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal, which would not be before the Spanish soldiers were withdrawn from the Provinces, for until then there would be no peace. Farnese's opinion was that all the rest of the Provinces would have become reconciled after the fall of Antwerp but for the help promised them by Elizabeth,¹ and all Europe knew that if she actually gave that help Philip could not conquer his rebellious Provinces until he had crushed England. The Catholic King was preparing to overthrow the Queen whom circumstances had made the champion of heretics. England and the United Provinces stood alone—for Germany would do nothing for their cause—against Philip and possibly against the League as well.

As soon as Antwerp fell Farnese began to build ships as secretly as he could. Carpenters were sent from Genoa to work in churches and elsewhere on the flat-bottomed boats which were to carry the army into England; five hundred were launched in November, 1587. Now all Englishmen saw more clearly than before how fortune had favoured England when the Beggars seized Briel and then Walcheren and so deprived Philip of all useful harbours and closed the Scheldt. Burghley wrote: "I do conclude that the King of Spain never can be a full master of those countries without he have some out-gate or in-gate by the sea."² Philip wanted the invasion of England prepared and if possible begun before Antwerp had fallen, but Farnese pointed out that it was impossible. Farnese took Sluis and would have taken Ostend, Flushing, and the other Zealand harbours before the Armada sailed if he could have done so. The Scheldt was full of Sea-Beggars almost up to Antwerp. The Armada was off Calais in August, 1588, and Farnese's flat-bottomed boats lay all along the coast from Dunkirk to Lillo, excepting Ostend, and the free use of Antwerp and the mouth of the Scheldt would have made all the difference to him.³

¹ Poulet, etc., "Granvelle," Vol. XII, p. 415.

² Leicester Corr., p. 359.

³ De Thou's rhymed letter to Claude du Puy about the Armada exactly describes the position.

Farnese could do nothing against the Holland and Zealand fleet, which blockaded the mouth of the Scheldt and every outlet on the Flemish coast. Spanish soldiers were actually sitting and waiting in the flat-bottomed boats. When Philip heard of the fate of the Armada he told Farnese at least to seize Walcheren, so that the next Armada might have a fair chance of striking a death-blow at England. Antwerp was no good to him—could not become “A pistol at England’s heart,” as Napoleon said he would make it. The Peace of Westphalia empowered the States to close the Scheldt and make Antwerp an inland town; and so it remained until the French Revolution, after which it was taken by the French, and until then it could not be a menace to England.

The closing of the Scheldt and the consequent ruin of Antwerp’s commerce and industry benefited a score of towns in England, the United Provinces, and Germany. The treaty with Spain allowed the Dutch to trade in the Indies, but this privilege was not extended to the obedient provinces until the end of thirty years. All ships sailing to Antwerp had then to be unladen in Zealand, and Dutch ships carried the cargoes to Lillo, where they were transferred to Antwerp ships. Being secure in Zealand the Dutch were able to hold the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek after the siege and control the passage of the river.

The population of Amsterdam increased by fifty thousand during the twenty years preceding 1612, and soon it surpassed that of all other towns, even Seville and Lisbon. To it fell the trade with the East Indies and the Baltic, and much of the linen industry settled there and at Harlem. In spite of heavy taxation for the war the Dutch people grew richer and richer. The woollen trade moved from the south to Leyden, and English cloths were sent to Middelburg, which became the second great town after Amsterdam. Rotterdam and Dordrecht had their share in the new life, especially in the fishing trade. Dutch captains sailed the Mediterranean and were to be seen at Venice, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Tripoli, or pushed to the Cape Verde Islands, or to the coast of Guinea; and when Philip prevented their trading with Spain and Portugal they sought merchandise themselves in India and the New World. Balthasar de Moucheron, once an Antwerp merchant but then of Middelburg, traded in the White Sea and set up a factory at Archangel. He formed a company whose object was to find a north-east passage to India by which he could avoid Philip’s ships.

Many industries from the southern Netherlands moved to Germany, Emden, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, and Frankfort, but a third part of all the manufacturers and merchants who wrought and dealt in silks, damasks, taffetas, bayes, sayes,

serges, stockings, and so on settled in England. There was still some demand in Antwerp for the skill of the diamond cutters, the workers in gold and silver, and those who made lace, silk, harpsichords, "Venetian" glass, and beer. Some found it worth while to make carpets, or leather for wall-decorations or to cover chairs.

Agricultural labourers were few and they demanded as much as sixty Rhine gulden a year and their keep to work on the land, whereas ten or at the most fifteen had been the rate shortly before. In 1588 the scale of all wages was fixed by the magistrates, and men were forbidden to leave their usual kind of work under pain of being sent to the galleys. Vagabonds, highwaymen, and thieves overran the country and crept into the town.

Boats could get up to the town from the sea by inland waterways, and projects came up from time to time to cut a canal, but Ghent did all it could to prevent the former practice and wars put a stop to the schemes. Even after the opening of the Scheldt the Dutch, like the mythical old giant Antigonus, took toll of every captain going up to Antwerp, and this burden was only taken away in 1863.

Describing the surrender of Antwerp the Catholic Diercxsens reminds us that then the town returned to Philip after being for eight years under the rebel's yoke. The King's orders to Farnese were that as soon as possible he should send preachers to the reduced town, if possible Netherlanders, well-conducted men and perfectly orthodox and able to speak well in the Flemish language. He was to put Catholics, where possible, on the bench of magistrates in the place of Protestants, and Catholic masters at schools.

Farnese, who was made Duke of Parma in February, 1586, attributed his taking of Antwerp to the goodwill of the Virgin Mary, patroness of the town, who had persuaded God to paralyse the arms and minds of the citizens.

The Calvinist ministers preached their last sermons in Antwerp three days after the surrender, and left the town to make room for the ecclesiastics and monks. The magistrates gave the Lutheran ministers certificates testifying that, since the Religious Peace of 1578, they had behaved in a dutiful and proper manner towards the Governors of the town and in accordance with that agreement.

Parma changed the magistrates to make the nature of the bench accord with Philip's wishes. Henrik T'Serraerts, Lord of Kauwenstein, who had gone over to Parma when the Antwerpers decided not to cut the great dikes, was made Margrave. Champagney returned as governor and Laevinus Torrentius was installed as bishiop, and the latter's appearance was the signal for many Calvinists to renounce their religious opinions. The

new bishop besides being learned was moderate and equitable towards the Calvinists, saying the matter of religion would be more easily cured by freedom and fair treatment than by violence and bloodshed. As an example of this clemency Hooft quotes the case of a Catholic who had returned to the town after the siege and indulged in a dispute with an old adversary, apparently in public. Parma put him in prison, and it was only with difficulty that his friends obtained his release. In 1596 the last martyr in the Spanish Netherlands for the new religion met her fate—a poor serving-woman, who was buried alive near Brussels. The monks poured back into the town to be restored to their monasteries. The Grey Friars were the first to return, and then came the Dominicans, the monks of St. Michael's Abbey, Peter Pot's men, and all the rest of them. To the mendicant orders who had already been in the town Farnese added the Capuchins, who established themselves in the Horse Market near the Red Gate. But the Jesuits were looked on by the Catholics as their great tower of strength, and by their sermons and their instruction of the young they converted many.¹ Their zeal brought about the removal of the figure of Brabo from the façade of the Town House which heretics had put up and the substitution for it of that of the Virgin, who, they said, had brought about the surrender of the town. The Dominicans took down from the walls the head of Timmerman, who had heard Jauregui's confession, and treated it as the relic of a saint. The Fathers and the Capuchins introduced new practices to further the Catholic reaction, which is traceable in the town from the time of its surrender, some of which were regarded by old-fashioned Catholics as displeasing innovations. Processions of "flagellants" appeared in the streets and the old Jewish custom was introduced of demanding the release of a "Barabbas."

When the four years allowed to heretics to return to the old religion had elapsed many departed—indeed Papebrochius says it was estimated that hardly more than forty-two thousand persons remained in the town, but thousands of Catholics soon came instead. It should be noted that even Queen Elizabeth did not expect a heretic to be allowed to live in a Catholic town and enjoy his property if he refused to return to the fold. The town sank into a peaceful sleep which much resembled death. Nothing but occasional mutinies of troops or of mariners disturbed the citizens, and most of them were glad when the castle was restored, for it not only guaranteed tranquillity but became the dwelling of the soldiers, who had hitherto been billeted in the town.

The Calvinists by their intolerance had lost the golden opinions some of the first martyrs among them had won for

¹ Rubens was to be one of their scholars.

their faith. It had been hoped that a common Protestantism would bind the Provinces together against the encroachment on their privileges by the King, and all the new religion had done for Antwerp was to bring ruin on it as a great commercial town.

CHAPTER XIV

A SHORT NOTE ON THE ARTISTS, PRINTERS, AND SCHOLARS OF THE PERIOD

SO many painters and other artists had flourished in Antwerp in the days of the Emperor Charles V, that something very remarkable might have been expected to come in with the later Renaissance, but the change to the Italian manner was at first prejudicial to the native art, and the religious troubles no doubt made commissions fewer and took away some of the joy and charm to be found in it in earlier days.

A number of good portrait-painters arose, but excepting Brueghel no painter of subject pieces appeared worthy to follow in a school of such promise as that founded by Quentin Metsys, Jan Gossart, Josse of Cleves, Peter Coecke, and Peter Aertszen.

Of those who survived the Emperor's abdication Marinus Claeszoon, called "van Romerswael," was most in touch with Quentin Metsys, having probably been his pupil and carrying on his style of genre-painting, but he left Antwerp in the middle of the century and returned to Zealand, where he got into trouble for image-breaking. Jan, the son of Quentin, a fine painter of nude figures, inherited his father's skill in giving charm to a woman's portrait; he was by birth a genre-painter and painter of ladies' portraits. He was banished for giving offence in matters of religion and returned to Antwerp at about the time of the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis with much in him learnt in France and Italy. His forte was the painting of life-sized female nudes, which from their size could not well be depicted as if in houses of ill-fame, as were so often the small figures of other Antwerp genre-painters, without outraging decency altogether, and he hit upon the expedient of naming his pictures after such stories from the Bible as were the most Oriental in character. He found the story of Suzanne and the Elders and of Bathsheba particularly to his liking. He died in the year before the Spanish Fury.

Peter Huys was working in Antwerp for a year or two after that event, but so few works can be attributed to him that he cannot be judged. He became free-master of the Painter's Guild of St. Luke in 1545. Jerome Cock was admitted in the following year but died a few years before him. Cock is known as an engraver and as the first master of Old Brueghel.

Peter Brueghel, the Elder, called "Peasant" Brueghel, like most Antwerp painters of that century, was not of Antwerp birth, but he was certainly the outstanding artist in the town and the only one apart from the portraitists whose work is highly prized to-day. He was admitted free-master of the Guild of St. Luke in 1551 and painted in Antwerp until 1563, when he removed to Brussels. He always remained constant to the old Flemish tradition in spite of a visit beyond

the Alps. His work, however, showed a great advance upon that of his predecessors, and he was one of the greatest genre-painters. He lets us peep at the manners of the time and country and gives us *Kermesses*, wedding-feasts, and dances, describing sometimes the scene at a *prêche* or at an execution, or when Spaniards rode up to scare and perhaps massacre the village folk. The latter formed the subject of his snow-picture, which was the most popular at the end of the century—"The Massacre of the Innocents." It was copied by his son and others, the original being now at Vienna. The best painter of the scenes in markets and so on with large figures, which had been made popular by Long Peter Aertszén and Jan van Hemessen, was Joachim Beukelaer, an Antwerper born, who was Long Peter's pupil. Some of his work shows him a fine colourist, but he was unsuccessful financially and had to act as a journeyman to others. Van Mander, the Vasari of the Netherlands, says that he died in 1573, and that in a few years twelve times more was given for his work than he ever received.

Genre-painters who followed in Brueghel's footsteps were Gilles Mostaert and Jacob Grimmer.

The landscape painters were this same Jacob Grimmer, Gilles van Coninxloo, Anthony van den Wyngaerde, Hans Bol, Henry and Martin van Cleve, Paul Bril.

Henri van Steenwyck was an admirable painter of church interiors.

In view of the remarkable development of Antwerp painting in the seventeenth century, considerable importance must be attached to the school set up by Franz Floris (or de Vriendt), whom Guicciardini looked on as standing with Quentin Metsys and Peter Brueghel to make the three great Antwerp painters. Now Floris's work, with the exception of a few portraits and his drawings, is not highly rated, but it was in his studio that the fore-runners of Rubens tried to learn how to mix the old Flemish manner with what had been brought from Italy. Floris was born in Antwerp and had been in Lambert Lombard's studio at Liège and had travelled in Italy. He was about forty-four years old at the time of the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis and died in 1570. He was overridden by the personality of Michelangelo. Probably his drunken habits spoil his painting, yet he became famous and wealthy, obtaining the praise even of Italians resident in the town. His studio and school of painting contained some thirty painters, among whom were Martin de Vos, Lucas de Heere, Crispin van den Broeck, Martin and Henri van Cleve, Franz Pourbus, and the brothers Ambrose and Jerome Francken.

Martin de Vos was perhaps the most successful of Floris's pupils. He visited Italy and is an important link between the earlier painters and Rubens. Living until 1603 he was able to take part in the restoration of the churches after Parma had reduced the town. He was regarded as a good colourist, although his large religious subject pieces do not appeal to connoisseurs to-day, but some of his drawings are remarkably good. The versatile Lucas de Heere, a fine portraitist, whose work is often confused with that of Holbein, left Antwerp. Franz Pourbus the elder was so good a portrait-painter that his work has been confused with that of Antonio Moro.

Floris's place among the three great Antwerp painters of the century would be voted to-day to Antonio Moro. Floris painted a

few very fine portraits ; for example, the so-called Falconer at Brunswick, but in this branch of their art Moro held easily the first place. He became free-master of the Guild in 1547, after having been Scorel's pupil in Holland, but his portraits have been so confused with those by two other Antwerp portrait-painters of his time—Adrian Key and Pourbus—that much of his work is unidentified. He visited Italy, Spain, Portugal, and England, but worked in Brussels and Antwerp on and off until his death in 1576. After Moro, Adrian Key was thought the best painter of portraits. Some of his best works have probably been assigned to Moro. He was a nephew of Willem Key, who, like Floris, was a pupil of Lambert Lombard at Liège, and whom Moro found painting at Antwerp when he first started work there, having become free-master of the Guild of St. Luke in 1542.

Several Antwerp painters went abroad and made names for themselves there—Hans Eworth in England, Denis Calvaert at Bologna, Bartholomew Spranger at Vienna and Prague. Others, after becoming well known in Antwerp, departed for a time or for ever on account of the war and of the religious troubles—Hans Bol, Henri van Steenwyck, the Valckenborghs, the de Vries, Georges Hoefnaghels. Netherland artists of all kinds became scattered through England, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland, and as far as Muscovy, to say nothing of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France. Most of the Antwerp painters of this period were spoilt by a sojourn in Italy, and their work was after it neither southern nor northern, and much ground had to be traversed by the school before it again attained a pinnacle of success. A fraternity of painters who had studied in Rome, styled "The Romanists," was established in 1572.

Pictures were still sold by the hundred in one of the upper galleries of the Bourse, the old Pand in the corner of the churchyard having become too small for the great amount of business transacted. The various Joyous Entries of new governors and the rejoicings which were held when good news came gave employment to some of the best-known painters. Franz Floris decorated the town for the great Landjewel. The Easterlings employed Hans Vredeman de Vries to design a triumphal-arch when Anne of Austria came on her way to Spain and he prepared the town for the Joyous Entry of Anjou. Martin de Vos did the same for Parma's entry after the surrender.

The private patronage extended to painters was still very considerable. King Philip was no mean connoisseur and was very anxious to possess pictures by the earlier Flemish masters. He would have liked to acquire Van Eyck's "Mystic Lamb," but had to be content with a copy by Michel Coxie, who was another painter resident in Antwerp just before the siege. Philip likewise coveted Quentin Metsys' great "Entombment," as did Queen Elizabeth, but could not get that either. He was more successful over the works of Jerome Bosch, for he collected a number of seeming specimens though several of them were spurious. Antonio Moro worked for him, painting his portrait and that of Mary Tudor. Moro also painted the King and Queen of Portugal, the Infante of Portugal, the Emperor Maximilian, Anne of Austria on her way through Antwerp in 1570, Alexander Farnese when a boy, Isabella of Valois, the Duke of Alva, Cardinal Granvelle, Margaret of Parma, William of Orange, Sir Thomas Gresham

and his wife, Antonio del Rio of the Blood Council and his family, and scores of other celebrities, for he retained Joachim Beukelaer and others to work for him. He was for some time in Granvelle's service.

Willem Key painted Granvelle, in his cardinal's robes, and Alva. Van Mander tells the story that while the Governor-General was giving a sitting he chatted in Spanish with a member of the Blood Council about the fate of Egmont and Horn, supposing Key would not understand. So upset was the painter by what he learnt that he went home and died on the same day as the two nobles.

Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, the first Governor-General after the Emperor's abdication, took great delight in painting and sculpture. Franz Francken painted a portrait of William of Orange during his lifetime, and after his death the magistrates paid £40 for it and hung it in the Town House, but it was removed when the Spaniards captured the town.

Fernando de Toledo, Grand Prior, Alva's son, ordered pictures of Franz Floris, and to this man's busy studio repaired many notable personages to watch his work, including Orange, Egmont, and Horn. Ciappin Vitelli employed Joachim Beukelaer. The Emperor Rudolph II made an unequalled collection of Old Brueghel's paintings which is now at Vienna; and another patron of his was a rich merchant named Hans Frankert, who often visited fairs with him to study the habits of the peasants. Martin de Vos when in Italy painted portraits of the Medici family. Sir Henry Cobham wrote to Cecil from Antwerp while Anne of Austria was there that he had caused her portrait to be made by the best draughtsman in the town (Moro?), and was sending it to him to be presented to Queen Elizabeth. The Duke of Arschot's son, Chimay, came to be called the "Belgian Lucullus," for his love of pictures, medals, and books. Lucas van Valckenborgh fled from Antwerp during the time of the persecution of the Protestants, and on returning was taken up by Matthias. The Duke of Anjou made Franz Francken his painter, and made Pourbus paint his portrait. Martin de Vos painted a portrait of Alexander Farnese for the Town House.

We find that when the much Italianized Michel Coxie came over from Malines to work for the magistrates in 1582 they received him almost as if he had been a king. He painted the St. Sebastian altar-piece now in the Antwerp Gallery for the Archer's Guild to put over their altar in Our Lady's Church and was working at the Town House when he fell from a scaffold and received fatal injuries.

A painter one would like to know more about is Jacques de Backer, said by Van Mander to have been a genius, who died young. He painted the altar-piece for Christopher Plantin's tomb in the great church.

Hundreds of paintings not only by painters of the time of Metsys but also by contemporaries of Floris perished at the hands of the Calvinists on the several occasions on which they sacked the churches and religious buildings, and fresh orders for such works were not given to any great extent until the Roman Catholic religion was re-established after the siege. Until then painters had to live on orders by private individuals and on "regency" pictures for the guilds, for in the days of the Calvinist supremacy altar-pieces were out

of favour. Metsys' "Entombment," now in the Antwerp Gallery, was in the Carpenters' Chapel in Our Lady's Church at the time of the iconoclasm of 1566, but did not perish. When Philip and Elizabeth tried to buy it Martin de Vos persuaded the magistrates to prevent such a treasure leaving the town. In 1581 the guilds, fearing a fresh outburst of image-breaking, saved many fine altar-pieces by removing them from their chapels in the churches. The magistrates gave leave for their sale, and the proceeds were expended on rebuilding the guild-houses burnt at the Spanish Fury. The old Scripture subjects were out of favour—at all events as treated by the older masters—and there were no artists as yet capable of treating classical themes, and therefore few subject pictures were painted until the Catholic cult was re-established and Rubens' influence had made itself felt.

The names of painters come up from time to time apart from their work. Hans Bol fled naked to Antwerp from Malines when it was sacked by the Spaniards in 1572. Georges Hoefnagels was ruined by the losses he sustained in the Spanish Fury. Franz Pourbus was standard-bearer to a company of the citizen soldiers, and while resting in the guardroom inhaled noxious vapours from the refuse taken from a sewer and died. Jacob Grimmer appeared as an actor in comedy in his Chamber of Rhetoric.

Van Mander tells us that Hans Vredeman de Vries was clever at making in houses those deceptive paintings on walls which delighted Netherlanders. You thought you were looking on to a court and you were really looking at a wall, or a portico seemed to stand out from what was really a flat surface. Such work he did for Gilles Hoffman the merchant and for Willem Key the painter, and even the Prince of Orange was deceived. After his return from abroad he entered the service of the town and advised as to the fortifying of it.

Franz Floris was one of a family of artists, and his brother, Cornelis Floris (or de Vriendt as he is usually called), was the architect of the new Town House in Renaissance style which was begun in 1561 and inaugurated in 1565. Having suffered heavily in the Spanish Fury it was quickly restored and remains to-day to bear witness to the style of architecture admired in Antwerp just after the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis was made.

The nature of the times prompted the magistrates to order the architect to make them ways of escape from the Town House in case of need, and this he did from the cellars to the Sign of the White Lion, which was the house of the New Guild of Crossbowmen at the corner of Goldsmiths' Street (rue des Orfèvres) and to a house in the Market Place named "The Key," belonging to the Guild of Furriers.

De Vriendt died in the year before that which saw fire injure the Town House in the Fury. He also prepared the plans for the great house of the Easterlings in the New Town begun in 1564 and finished in 1568. He was also a clever sculptor and made the tabernacle at Léau and the rood-screen at Tournay.¹

The Old Guild of Crossbowmen rebuilt their Guild House in the Market Place in 1560 in Renaissance style, and it was regarded as one of the most important buildings of the period, and stands to the architect's credit to-day, the front adorned with emblems of the guild

¹ There are plaster casts of both in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

and a statue of their patron-saint—St. George. About the same time the Guild of Mariners rebuilt their house in the rue des Serments behind the new Town House, and the Cloth Hall was rebuilt in the Market Place. Here also the Guild of Coopers rebuilt their house in 1579, and it has their patron-saint—St. Matthew—above it. A compliment was paid to the Antwerp architects and sculptors by Sir Thomas Gresham in that his Royal Exchange in London was in imitation of the Antwerp Bourse, and he employed the Flemish architect Henryke,¹ who seems to have got most of the materials in Antwerp. The house of the Hessian merchants in the New Town was more remarkable for its size and suitability for the purpose for which it was built than for its beauty.

A number of sculptors and architects were employed in the town of whom we know nothing, but Abraham Andriessens is famous for the work he did on the fortifications.

The most important ecclesiastical work was the rebuilding of the Dominicans' church, now St. Paul's. These monks also rebuilt part of their cloister, but the Calvinists put an end to their endeavours. The church was the last great building in Antwerp in pointed style. The beautiful walls and gates of the town have not survived to the present day, and were really completed before Philip came to the throne; but the façade of the Kipdorp Gate, which faced the town, was only begun in January, 1583, and Paul Luydinx, who had restored the Town House after the Spanish Fury, completed it and put an inscription to make it a memorial of the recent overthrow of Anjou. The castle was a fine piece of work, but was not the work of local architects.

Jacques Jongelinckx, the sculptor and medallist, is frequently mentioned in Antwerp history because he made the statue of Alva in the castle and designed medals for the Beggars to wear in the early days of the Confederacy, but he also made the tomb of Charles the Bold at Bruges—one of his early works, and perhaps the best. Iconoclasm stripped churches clear of their furniture and discouraged artists from making fresh things. Engraving and book printing alone could flourish. Jerome Cock's print-shop, "The Four Winds," near the Bourse, was the centre of interest for those who liked prints. Cock himself was something of a landscape painter and a good engraver, but it was for his shop that he was best known. He did good business in prints by a number of engravers until his death in 1576, and then his wife carried it on. He sold engravings of the works of the best of his contemporaries by the chief engravers in the town, including Old Brueghel, and these were many, for it was an art studied by many of the painters as soon as the demand for oil paintings diminished.

A visitor to the Antwerp Picture Gallery will probably spend nearly all his time among the works of Rubens and his contemporaries, or those by painters of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and will hardly be attracted by anything produced while Philip was king. In the Plantin-Moretus printing house it is a different feeling that seizes one, among books, drawings, and prints, for which there was a great demand even during the time of Alva, and the output was surprising.

¹ Henri Paschen of Antwerp.

Christopher Plantin had come to Antwerp from France in 1549, and sold books in the Street of the Twelve Months, near the Bourse. He started his own press, and in 1557 moved into the "Golden Unicorn" in Brewers Street and then into another house which he renamed the "Golden Compasses." In 1578 he went into the house on the Friday Market to which he gave the same name, for a pair of compasses was his trade-mark. His trade in books was the greatest hitherto known in Antwerp, and Philip granted him the monopoly of printing missals and breviaries, but his name was put on the list of those suspected of heresy and he got into trouble. It was with Philip's approval and assistance that he produced his Polyglot Bible, and Arias Montanus, one of the most erudite men of the century, was sent from Spain to superintend the publication. In spite of his supposed heresy he was made printer-in-chief to the King and was to superintend all the printing houses in the Netherlands. If suspicions as to his orthodoxy made Plantin looked at askance by the Catholics his appointment as printer-in-chief put him entirely out of favour with his brother-printers. Willem Silvius, whose printing office was at the "Golden Angel" on the Brewers Gate Bridge, was arrested on a charge of having taken part in the image-breaking in 1566 and was kept in prison until his business was destroyed. There were scores of presses in the town, and books, mainly of a religious nature, were exported to all parts of the world. Perhaps after those already mentioned Nutius, Bellerus, and Steelsius are the names of printers most famous.

In the fifteen-eighties the magistrates' accounts bear witness to the presence in the town of some of the notable men of the time. They presented "wine of honour" to Abraham Ortelius for his "Map of the World" printed in French by Plantin, they gave a cup to Justus Lipsius and a gold chain to Ludovico Guicciardini. Lipsius worked afterwards at Plantin's, and Guicciardini's account of the Netherlands was printed both by Silvius and Plantin. Ortelius was of Antwerp birth and Mercator came from Rupelmonde, close by. Emanuel van Meteren, who published his history of the Netherlands at the end of the century, was born in Antwerp. Of writers of Antwerp origin the most popular was Anna Bijns, who survived until 1575, when she died aged eighty-two. This Flemish poetess, who kept a school, and wrote poems at her house—the "Gridiron"—in Kaiser Street, blamed the new religious teaching for all the troubles of the country and unceasingly wrote in favour of Pope and Holy Church.

See the following Works :

- BOSSCHÈRE, J. (DE): *La Sculpture Anversoise aux XV^{ème} et XVI^{ème} siècles.*
 BRANDEN, F. J. P. (VAN DEN): *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool.*
 — Anna Bijns, *Haar Leven*, etc.
Catalogues of the Galleries at Brussels and Antwerp.
 FIERENS-GEVAERT, H. LA: *Peinture en Belgique.*
 HYMANS, H.: *Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander.*
 — Antonio Moro.

OLTHOFF, F. : De Boekdruckers, etc., in Antwerpen.

ROMBOUTS, P., and LERIUS, T. (VAN) : De Liggeren en andere Historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde.

ROOSES, M. : Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool.

— Christophe Plantin.

SCHAYES, A. G. B. : Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique.

WAUTERS, A. J. : La Peinture Flamande.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1555 Abdication of Charles and Accession of Philip.
- 1557 Battle of St. Quentin.
- 1558 Battle of Gravelines.
Accession of Queen Elizabeth.
- 1559 Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis. Published in Antwerp 7th of April.
Margaret of Parma becomes Regent.
Departure of Philip.
Twenty-one heretics executed in Antwerp.
- 1560 About a score of heretics executed.
- 1561 Departure of the Spanish troops.
The Landjewel.
Marriage of William of Orange and Anne of Saxony.
Eight heretics executed.
- 1562 First Huguenot War in France.
Financial crisis on Bourse.
About a dozen heretics executed.
Battle of Dreux.
- 1563 Edict of Amboise.
Autumn. Plague in England and Margaret shuts out English cloths.
Lawlessness in Antwerp.
Council of Trent finishes sittings.
"Fools' liveries" started.
Two heretics put to death.
- 1564 Granvelle retires.
No trade with England until end of year.
The "Parfaits"
October. Execution of Fabricius and then a lull in the persecution of heretics.
Terribly cold winter.
- 1565 Great distress and fear of a revolt.
Meeting at Bayonne
Bad harvest.
October. "Segovia letters" despatched.
Wedding festivities at Brussels.
Confederacy of the Nobles.
Margaret's circular-letter enforcing Inquisition.
Placards and the Decrees of the Council of Trent.
22nd and 23rd of December. Bill-posting by night at Antwerp.
The last year of the old prosperity.
- 1566 "The Year of Wonders."
"Request" presented to Margaret.
The "Beggars."
Large crowds to hear preaching outside Antwerp.

- 1566 July. Brederode and Orange at Antwerp.
 August. Antwerp churches sacked.
 October. Riots against the Catholics.
- 1567 Fire at the Grey Friars' cloister.
 The first armed rising.
 Fight at Austruweel and tumult in the town.
 Orange and the Lutheran and Calvinist leaders depart.
 Second Huguenot War in France.
 Antwerp submits to Margaret.
 Persecution of heretics begins again, at first mildly.
 Arrival of Alva.
 Antwerp Castle begun.
 Arrest of Egmont, Horn, Straelen, etc.
 Blood Council established.
- 1568 Orange's first invasion.
 Execution of Egmont and Horn, etc.
 Quarrel with England about treasure ships.
- 1569 No trade with England.
 Huguenots defeated at Jarnac and Moncontour.
 Alva's new schemes for taxation first brought forward.
 Sea-Beggars first appear.
- 1570 16th of July. Philip's Pardon read.
 Peace of St. Germain encourages Calvinists.
 No trade with England.
- 1571 Vierschare abolished.
 Champagny made Governor of Antwerp.
 New taxes enforced.
 Battle of Lepanto.
 Terrible pestilence.
 No trade with England.
- 1572 Orange's second invasion.
 April. Sea-Beggars capture Briel and Walcheren
 Louis of Nassau seizes Mons.
 Massacre of St. Bartholomew's.
 No trade with England.
- 1573 Several naval battles in the Scheldt.
 Fall of Harlem.
 Alva succeeded by Requesens.
- 1574 Middelburg surrendered to Orange.
 Battle of Mook.
 Spanish mutineers in Antwerp in summer.
 Spanish fleet in Scheldt destroyed.
 Death of Charles IX. Henry III succeeds.
 Leyden relieved.
 Two conspiracies to seize Antwerp for Orange.
- 1575 Vierschare re-established.
 Battles in Scheldt.
- 1576 Death of Requesens.
 "Spanish Fury."
 Pacification of Ghent.
 Don John Governor-General.
- 1577 Perpetual Edict.
 Peace proclaimed at Antwerp

- 1577 Spanish soldiers leave Antwerp.
 Don John seizes castle of Namur.
 Citizens seize Antwerp Castle and demolish part of it.
 German mercenaries expelled.
 Triumphant return of Orange.
 Arrival of the Archduke Matthias.
- 1578 Battle of Gembloux
 Queen Elizabeth begins to take more interest in the Provinces.
 Jesuits and Grey Friars expelled.
 The Religious Peace.
 Death of Don John. He is succeeded by Alexander Farnese,
 Prince of Parma.
- 1579 Spaniards attack Borgerhout.
 Union of Utrecht.
 Union of Arras.
 Antwerp joins Union of Utrecht.
 Ascension Day riot.
- 1580 States-General casts off Philip.
 Resignation of Matthias.
 Broad Council invites the Duke of Anjou.
 Treaty of Plessis les Tours with Anjou.
 Conquest of Portugal by Philip.
- 1581 Catholic cult suppressed in Antwerp and the Calvinists dominate
 the town.
- 1582 The Duke of Anjou reaches Antwerp.
 Attempted murder of Orange.
- 1583 "The French Fury."
 Orange leaves Antwerp for the north.
- 1584 Alexander Farnese lays siege to Antwerp.
 Murder of Orange.
 Most of the Flemish and Brabant towns surrender to Farnese.
- 1585 February. Farnese's bridge completed.
 April. Attack on bridge with fire-ships.
 May. Fight on the Kauwenstein dike.
 17th of August (n.s.). Surrender of Antwerp to Farnese.
 December. The Earl of Leicester to the Netherlands.
- 1588 The Spanish Armada.

INDEX

- Aa, Adolph vander, of Malines, 103-4
Aachen, House of, 67 and note, 105, 108-9, 160, 178, 184, 195, 228, 248, 251
Abbey of St. Michael. *See* St. Michael's Abbey.
Accords and Agreements, 88-9, 91, 95, 98-9, 101, 129, 209, 242
 between Magistrates and Calvinists, 86, 108, 110
 between Magistrates and Lutherans, 87
 between Margaret and the Confederates, 81
 with Spain, 271. *See* Calvinists; *see* Lutherans.
"Actions of the Low Countries," by Sir Roger Williams, 99 and note, 167n, 226 and note
Act of Union between the Seventeen Provinces signed at Brussels, 224
Aelst, Peter van, 255, 267
Aertzen, Long Peter, 320-1
Affaitadi, Carlo, daughter of, captured by Beggars, 190
Affray with Spanish soldiers in Cathedral, 149
Aix-la-Chapelle, 132, 238, 298
Aldegonde. *See* St. Aldegonde, Marinix de
Alençon, Duke of. *See* Anjou, Duke of
Alewijns, Florent, 41
Alexander of Macedon, 310
 of Rome, 310
Alexandria, 316
Alkmaar, 154, 165
All-Hallows, flood of, 145
Alliance between Anjou and the States, 234, 251
Almoners, 71 and note, 159, 285, 298
Alost, 42, 191-2, 195-7, 199-201, 205, 226, 238, 292, 314
 captured by Farnese, 277
 mutineers, 200
Alva, Duke of, 45, 48, 54, 84, 92-3, 99-100, 116-7, 119-20, 123, 125, 127-32, 135, 137-53, 155-65, 168, 184, 193, 216-7, 219, 230, 248, 280, 286, 325
 arrival of, at Antwerp, 124
 arrival of, at Brussels, 120
 blunder of, in failing to protect Flushing, 167
Alva, Duke of—*contd.*
 defeat of, by the Sea-Beggars, 160
 demands of, granted by Queen Elizabeth, 152
 departs from Antwerp, 125
 failure of, 142 *et seq.*
 fleet of, again refitted, 165
 German soldiers of, executed for mutiny, 142-3
 issues placard of protection against the Wild Beggars, 146
 makes index of forbidden books, 136
 orders arrest of English merchants in Netherlands, 134
 penury to, 126, 137
 pillages Malines as punishment for aid of William of Orange, 159
 portrait of, by Antonio Moro, 322
 portrait of, by William Key, 323
 portrait of, in Brussels Gallery, 124
 presses sailors on Flemish coast to serve in his fleet, 163
 returns to Antwerp, 125
 searches book-shops and printing houses, 136
 sends help to King of France, 123
 statue of, made by Jacques Jongelinckx, 216, 325
 statue of, removed, 177
 succeeded by Requesens, 166
Amboise, Edict of, 31, 35-6
Amelia Antwerpia, daughter of William of Orange, 264
Amman, the, 32 and note, 124
Amnesty promised by Margaret of Parma, 101
Amsterdam, 125, 153, 166, 179, 186, 221, 226, 251, 316
Anabaptists, 9, 18, 31, 33, 40, 45-6, 55, 57, 61, 67, 70, 82, 87, 95, 108, 137, 141, 168, 216-7, 231
 and authority of Pope, 11
 and Holy Sacrament, 11
 and the Incarnation, 11
 execution of, in Antwerp, 3, 10, 12, 29, 32, 34-5, 122, 128, 130, 135, 139, 144, 149, 187
 pardon for penitent, 71
 rescued from the Steen, 54
 rise of, 4-5
Andriessens, Abraham, 198, 274-5, 325
"Angel, the," 127
Anjou, Duke of, 232-3, 235-6, 249n, 250, 254-5, 257-8, 260-6, 268-72, 275-6, 287, 306, 322, 325
 death of, 271

- Anjou, Duke of—*contd.*
 his coming to Antwerp, 255 *et seq.*
 invited by Broad Council, 251
 papers seized by Magistrates, 269
 projected marriage to Queen Elizabeth, 156
 reported betrothal to Queen Elizabeth, 254
 retires to France, 238
 "Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique," by Génard, 204-5 and notes
 Anne of Austria, 140, 143-4, 151, 322-3
 portrait of, by Antonio Moro, 144n, 322
 Anne of Saxony, wife of William of Orange, 29, 31-2
 validity of divorce from William of Orange, 184
 Antoino, Castle of, 50
 Antwerp:
 arrival in, of Margaret of Parma, 22
 attempted capture of, by French, 268
 Bishop of (Philippe de Nigri), 32, 136, 143. *See also* Sonnius; *see also* Torrentius
 breaking off trade with England, 40
 Castle, 123, 125, 137, 158, 171, 185, 192, 194-7, 199, 204, 209, 211-12, 214-15, 222, 224, 285, 310
 Chambers of Rhetoric, 23
 enters Union of Utrecht, 244
 Fair, 20
 people of, become antagonistic to Philip II and Cardinal Granvelle, 21
 Picture Gallery, 325
 prosperity of, 1
 surrender to Farnese, 307
 the "Bourse-Town" of Northern Europe, 18
 under Charles V, 2n
 Wharf, 134
 "Antwerp Folly, The," 298
 Antwerpens as Sea-Beggars, 146
 "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," 5n, 81n, 217n, 277n
 "Antwerpsch Chronykje," 56, 68n, 70n, 79n, 108n, 134n
 "Anvers à travers les Ages," by Génard, 274n
 Aquila, Bishop of, Spanish Ambassador in London, 21, 33-5, 52
 Arber, 203n
 Archangel, 316
 Archduke, Albert, 311
 Matthias. *See* Matthias
 Archers' Guild, 244, 323
 Arenberg, Count of, 31, 64, 97, 100, 298, 309
 defeated by Louis of Nassau at Heyligerlee, 128
 Armuyden, 155, 170
 Arras, Bishop of. *See* Granvelle
 Union of, 238, 243
 Arschoot, Duke of, 113, 143, 189, 194, 197, 220, 224, 233-4, 237, 239-40, 247, 249, 309-10
 appointed Castellan of Antwerp Castle, 211
 Arschoot, secured by Don John, 225
 Artois, 156, 239, 299
 and treaty with Philip, 239
 Council of, 301
 county of, in
 Assassination of William of Orange attempted, 260, 272
 carried out, 279
 "Assumption" (Franz Floris), 78
 Augsburg, 115
 Confession of, 105, 112, 122
 Treaty of, 3
 Austin Friars, 4
 Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) ceded to Clara Eugenia Isabella and Archduke Albert, 311
 Austruweel, 104, 106-8, 110, 115, 122, 128, 135, 153, 155, 164, 167, 178, 182, 190, 216, 229, 255, 280-1, 289, 300
 Fort of, 285
 Backer, Jacques de, 323
 Baerts, Sebastian, preaches in Our Lady's Church for first time after the pillage, 86
 Bakers' Tower, 146, 237, 286, 291
 Balck, Ysbrandt, of Frankfort, 96
 Balfour, Colonel, 223, 225, 282, 295-6
 Baltic, 48, 99, 154, 161, 276, 316
 Provinces scoured by Alva for seamen, 163
 Band of the Forlorn Hope, the, 104
 Bands of Ordonnance, 34, 59, 71, 84, 113, 197
 Baptism by Calvinists, 68
 Barbary, 154, 157
 Basel, 277
 Bayonne, 48
 Beauvoir, Seigneur de. *See* Lannoy, Philip de
 Beerhooft, the, 138, 162, 241-2, 228, 247
 Beggars, the, 66-7, 72, 94, 104, 108, 116, 128, 144-5, 147, 150, 153-61, 163, 166, 171-2, 174-5, 177-8, 185, 190, 193, 195, 204-5, 216, 315, 325
 plan of, to seize Walcheren, 105.
See also Gueux; *also* Confederacy of the Nobles; *also* Sea-Beggars; *also* Wild-Beggars
 Beguinage, 275
 Beguines' Gate, 259
 Street, 200
 Behault, Antoinette, 13
 "Belgian Lucullus." *See* Chimay, Prince
 Belgium. *See* Austrian Netherlands
 Bellerus, Peter and Jan (printers), 132, 326
 Bellièvre, 271

- Bentivoglio, 126
- Berchem :
- Castle of, 269
 - Church of, destroyed, 285
 - curé* of, murdered by Wild-Beggars, 146
 - village of, 15, 34, 42, 45, 223, 238
 - Wood, 59
- Berchem, Hendrik van (Chief Burgomaster), 27, 46, 57, 66, 100, 107, 119, 147, 248
- re-appointed Chief Burgomaster, 58
- Bergen-op-Zoom, 66, 154-6, 164, 169-70, 176, 185, 214, 254, 264, 276-7, 283, 289, 293, 298, 303, 306
- Berghes, Adrian de (Seigneur de Dolhain), 50, 146
- Berlaymont, Count, 14, 22, 30, 53, 94, 113, 115, 140, 143, 185, 189
- Bernuy, Fernando de, 91, 97
- Bertryn on image-breaking at Our Lady's Church, 77 and note
- Beukelaer, Joachim, pupil of Long Peter Aertszen, 321, 323
- Beveren, 283-4, 292, 303, 306-7
- Bèze, Theodore de, 61
- translation of Psalms by, 46
- "Big Beggar." See Brederode
- Bijns, Anna (Flemish poetess) 23, 326
- death of, 326
- Biron, Marshal, 266, 272, 276
- retires from service of States, 276
- Biscay, 274
- Blaauwgaaren Dike, 275, 279-80, 282, 293
- Black Sisters, 243, 253
- cloister of, pillaged, 79
- Blind Street, 285
- Blockade of Antwerp, 274 *et seq.*
- Blok, 118n, 208n
- Blokkersdyke, 283
- Blood, alleged rain of, near Louvain, 133
- Blood Council, 123 and note, 131, 183, 217, 323
- suppressed, 178
- Blue Tower, 274
- "Blyde Inkomste." See Joyous Entries
- Blydenhoek, 200
- Boazio, Augustino, 37, 41
- Bock, Oliver de, 43
- Boerenschans, 280, 282, 292, 294, 296, 299
- abandoned by Farnese, 285
- Boggaerds, 242-3
- Church of, taken over by Calvinists, 253
 - cloister of, pillaged, 79
- Bois-le-Duc, 93, 97, 103, 114, 125, 130, 173, 193, 214, 224, 254, 289-90, 292
- Boisot, Charles, 103
- Louis, Admiral of Zealand, 165, 170, 177
- relieves Leyden, 180
 - death of, 190
- Bolet, Hector (Cosynken), 146
- Bol, Hans (landscape painter), 159, 321-2, 324
- Bombergen, Anthony de, 103, 178
- proclamation issued against, 127
- Bombergen, Charles van, 217
- Bome, 164
- Bonvisi, 33
- Bor (historian), 62n, 312n
- on the rage for preaching in West Flanders, 59
- Bordeaux, 37
- Treaty of, 258
- Borgerhout, 59, 119, 142-3, 153, 177, 197, 238-40, 244, 251-2, 267-9, 274-5, 280, 291, 299
- captured by Farnese, 302
 - raid on, by Spanish Garrison from Lierre, 276
 - set on fire by States troops, 239
- Borinneschans, 280
- Borneilge, François, 129
- Bosch, Jerome, 322
- Bosschere de, 17
- execution of, 16
- Botalli, Leonardo, of Asti (physician), 263
- Boubert, Jean de. See Pergamont, Jan
- Bourbon, 184
- Bourges, 51, 58
- Bours, Seigneur de, 213-4
- Bourse :
- Antwerp, 12, 22, 34-5, 42, 45, 61, 66, 74, 95, 100, 103, 120, 127, 129, 152, 175, 200, 203, 205, 207, 221, 233, 243, 262, 268, 275, 311, 322, 325-6
 - English, 130
- Boussu, Count of, 139, 144, 149, 154, 226, 232-3, 236-7
- death of, 238
 - defeat and capture of, 165-6
- Bovy, Jan (clockmaker), 291
- Brabant, 9, 16, 30, 32-4, 53, 62, 64, 83, 87, 104, 117, 126, 132, 135, 148, 151, 156, 159, 172, 183-4, 186, 191, 193-4, 208-10, 226, 229, 238, 240-41, 244, 246-7, 253, 259, 264-5, 278, 280-1, 284, 287, 293, 311-12
- attacks by Beggars in, 160
 - Campine, 276
 - Chambers of Rhetoric of, 24
 - Chancellor of, 13, 46
 - Council of, 46, 53, 190
 - Duchy of, 1 and note
 - North, 86
 - opposition of men of, to new bishoprics, 28
 - scoured by the Wild Beggars, 146
 - States of, 178, 189
 - towns of, enter Union of Utrecht, 238
- Brabantina, daughter of William of Orange, 264n
- Braght, J. T. van, 11n, 17, 168, 202, 217

- Brandenburg, 115
 Breach between Granvelle and William of Orange, 31
 Brecht, Captain van, 86, 88, 94, 104, 243
 Breda, 34, 54-5, 58, 100, 111-12, 114, 166, 180, 184, 214, 221, 243, 247, 254, 256, 292-3
 betrayal of, to Spaniards, 253
 Brederode, Henry, Baron de, 50, 55-7, 63-7, 92, 100-5, 112, 144
 death of, 126
 Bremen, 21, 316
 Bishop of, sends 400 men to Alva, 163
 Brewers Gate Bridge, 128, 326
 Street (rue des Peignes), 25, 56, 59, 72, 103, 105, 144, 242, 326
 Briel (Brill), 155, 167, 315
 captured by de la Marck, 153
 Bril, Paul (landscape painter), 321
 Brittany, 274
 Broad Council, 8, 13, 17, 52, 54, 60-2, 64, 66, 68-71, 73, 76, 84, 86, 90, 92, 109-10, 112, 127, 137, 178, 184, 186, 215, 222, 224, 231, 246, 248, 251, 254, 271-2, 278, 280, 286, 290, 301-2, 304-5, 307
 Broeck, Crispen van den, 321
 Broodhuis at Brussels, 215
 Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary, 230 n
 of the Holy Spirit, 49
 Brouage, 161
 Brouwershaven, 185, 190
 Brown, Rawdon, 4n, 12n, 16
 Brueghel, Peter, the Elder, 320-1, 323, 325
 paintings by contemporaries of, 70
 Bruges, 40-3, 47, 138, 185, 225, 229, 261, 265, 278, 304, 312, 314, 325
 Bishop of, 152
 French Fury fails at, 269
 Brugmans, H., 90n
 Brunswick, Duke of, 64
 Brussels, 1, 4, 13, 32, 35, 40, 56, 58, 63, 65-6, 73-4, 80, 86, 105, 108, 112, 117, 120-1, 130, 132, 136, 138, 142, 148, 153, 155, 159, 161, 166, 173, 177, 180, 190, 192-3, 204, 208, 215, 217, 221, 225, 235-7, 241, 246, 250, 252-3, 255, 263-4, 275, 278, 280, 289, 292, 310, 314, 318
 capitulation of, to Farnese, 290
 Court of, reproves Franciscan Friar, 22
 Gallery, portrait of Alva, in, 124
 Bucer, 97
 Buren, Count of, son of William of Orange, 279
 arrest of, 127
 Burg Church, the, given over to the Lutherans, 230
 Burghley, 26, 60, 90, 100, 102, 144n, 150, 157, 162, 218, 233, 252, 315, 323
 Burgon, 25n, 56n
 Burgos, 262
 Burght, 276, 283-4, 287, 313
 seized by Spaniards, 278
 Burgrave of Antwerp, 30-1, 66-7, 279
 Burgundian Circle of the Empire, 52
 Burgundians, 201, 299
 plundering in Antwerp by, 202
 Burgundy, 1, 2, 30
 county of, 3n, 148
 Dukes of, 2
 "Burning Thornbush," the, of Bois-le-Duc, 26
 Busbecq, 265-6n
 Bussy, Seigneur de, 247
 Calais, 2, 145, 315
 Calendar of Gregory adopted in Brabant, 266
 "Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice," by Rawdon Brown, 4n, 12n, 16
 "Calendar of State Papers of Elizabeth (For.)," 12n, 16, 37n, 69n, 83n, 90n, 252n, 298n, 303n, 305n, 306n
 "Calendar of State Papers of Elizabeth (Dom.)," 162n
 Callo, 177, 276, 282-4, 287, 291
 Church, 284
 Calvaert, Denis, 322
 Calvin, 46, 91, 97, 114
 Calvinism, 3, 29
 and revolution in Antwerp, 6
 spreads in Antwerp, 4
 Calvinists, 33, 44, 47, 49-51, 55, 58-60, 62, 65, 67, 75, 80-3, 86, 88-90, 93, 96-8, 100, 102-3, 106-12, 122, 128, 135-6, 142, 144, 158, 184, 217-8, 224, 226-31, 234, 236-8, 240, 242, 247-8, 251-2, 258-9, 285, 302, 305, 308, 318, 323, 325
 Consistory of, at Antwerp, 97
 execution of, 12, 29, 137, 149, 187
 Request of, to Hoogstraeten, 95
 take over Catholic Churches, 253
 take up arms, 108
 threat of, to kill a Grey Friar in porch of Our Lady's Church, 102
 Camargo, Provost Marshal, 193-4
 Cambray, 36, 92, 125, 152, 254, 290
 Bishop of, 7, 32, 49, 70, 114, 116-7
 Treaty of, 4
 Campine, 281, 312
 Canal, opening of new, from Brussels to Willebroeck, 26
 Cantecroy, 193, 244, 275
 Canto, Alonzo del, 58
 Cape Verde Islands, 316
 Capuchins, 318
 "Carantamaula," 298
 Carlos, Don, son of Philip, 116
 arrested, 127
 Carmelites, 43-4, 139, 178, 187, 227, 243

Carmelites—*contd.*

- Church of, taken over by Lutherans, 230, 253
 monastery, 186
 Carpen captured by Mondragon, 238
 Carpenter's Chapel in Our Lady's Church, 324
 Carrington, Nicholas, 221
 Casimir, John, 225, 232-7, 249
 retires to England, 238
 Castellan of Antwerp (William of Orange), 30
 Castile, Grand Commander of. *See* Requesens
 Castle Esplanade, 215
 Câteau Cambrésis :
 Treaty of, 1, 3, 7, 9, 17-18, 21, 38, 45, 216-7, 311, 320-1, 324
 various aspects of the Treaty of, 2
 Cathedral, Antwerp, 144, 176, 186, 242, 309-10. *See also* Our Lady's Church
 Catherine de Medici, 36, 48
 Catholic League, 183
 in France, 305
 Catholic religion, restoration of, 259
 suppressed, 253
 Catholics, 84, 88-90, 94-5, 97, 100, 110-11, 117, 227, 230-1, 234, 236, 243, 245, 248-9, 269, 301, 305, 317-8, 326
 and the Inquisition, 55
 lampoons on, 74
 lose confidence in William of Orange, 98, 188
 Cattle Market, 268
 Cavendish, Colonel, 240-1
 Cecil. *See* Burghley
 Celi, Medina, successor to Alva, 150, 156-8
 Cell-brothers, 147, 181, 242
 Cetone, Marquis of. *See* Vitelli, Ciappin
 Chamber of Accounts, abolition of, 169
 set up by Alva in Antwerp, 148
 of Ammunition Masters, 278, 294
 of Justice, abolition of, 169
 set up by Alva in Antwerp, 148
 of Munitions, 274
 of the Fortification Masters, 278
 of the Ship-equipping Masters, 278
 Chambers of Rhetoric (Landjewel), 22-3, 143, 257, 324
 Champagney, 148-9, 155, 167, 173-4, 177-8, 185-6, 189-93, 195-205, 214, 237, 248, 317
 Chancellor of Brabant, 283
 Chapel of the Circumcision in Our Lady's Church, 263
 of the Moabites, 230
 Charles, Archduke, 6n
 Charles V, 2-5, 30, 32, 48, 54, 120, 124-5, 320
 abdication of, 3
 Court of, at Brussels, 30
 financial condition during his reign, 18
 Charles IX, 34, 145, 150, 154, 156, 166, death of, 179
 Charles the Bold, 3
 tomb of, at Bruges by Jongelinckx, 325
 Charlotte de Bourbon, wife of William of Orange, 188, 221, 247, 263
 death of, 263
 marriage to William of Orange, 184
 Chateaurouge, Count of, 257
 Cheese Canal, 25, 257
 Chimay, Prince de, son of Duke of Arschot, 211, 232-4, 237, 309, 323
 "Chronyck der Stadt Antwerpen," by Bertrijn, 77n
 Churches, re-establishment of the ruined, 125
 Churchyard, English soldier and poet, 108
 Cipier (keeper of prison), 10
 Claeszoon, Marinus (genre-painter). *See* Romerswael
 Clara Eugenia Isabella, daughter of Philip II, 311, 314
 Clares' Street, 257
 Clercq, Gilles le, 50, 52, 106
 Cleve, Henry van (landscape painter), 321
 Martin van (landscape painter), 321
 Cleves, 100, 171-2, 238, 293
 Cloister Street, 61, 198, 200, 258
 Cloisters pillaged, 79
 Cloth Hall, 325
 Shearers' Chapel taken over by Lutherans, 230, 253
 Clough, Richard, 25n, 36, 40, 66, 83, 98
 Coalition of Catholics, Lutherans, English, Easterlings, and Germans, 109
 Cobham, Sir Henry, 144 and note, 232-3, 236, 323
 Cock, Jerome (engraver), 320, 325
 death of, 325
 Coecke, Peter, 320
 Colchester, 298
 Coligny, 235
 murder of, 261
 College of Magistrates. *See* Magistrates of Antwerp
 Cologne, 131, 152, 238, 240, 244-5, 265, 298, 316
 Peace Conference at, 245-6
 Commercial relations broken between William of Orange and Queen Elizabeth, 184
 between Margaret of Parma and Elizabeth, 39
 between Alva and Elizabeth, 133
 Community of goods favoured by Anabaptists, 5
 Compromise of the Nobles, 51, 54, 121, 140
 Condé, Princes of, 33-4, 47-8, 55, 103, 131, 133, 135, 136, 219, 247, 249

- Confederacy of the Nobles, 51, 55, 57, 63-4, 67-9, 81-2, 84, 90, 105, 148, 325
 banquet at Culembourg House, 56
 Compromise signed, 54
 deputation of, to William of Orange and Egmont, 68
 meeting at St. Trond, 66
 raise troops in Germany, 103
 Request to the Regent, 56. *See also* Gueux; *also* Schotelkens; *also* Beggars; *also* Sea-Beggars; *also* Wild-Beggars
- Confession of Augsburg, 105, 112, 115, 122
- Coninxloo, Gilles van (landscape painter), 321
- Constable of France, 40
- Constable, William, Englishman, hanged for stealing, 86
- Constance, Lake of, 119
- Constantinople, 97, 316
- Convention of Nimeguen, 162, 164
- Conversation of William of Orange with Henry II, 30
- Cordeliers. *See* Grey Friars
- Corn Market, 89, 96, 171
- "Correspondance de Cardinal de Granvelle," ed. Pouillet, 97n, 152n, 212n, 224n, 231n, 252n, 254n, 280n, 313n, 315
- "Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne," ed. Gachard, 31n, 101n, 105n
- "Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchess de Parme," ed. Gachard, 38n, 150n
- "Correspondance de Philippe II," ed. Gachard, 16n, 43-4n, 49n, 51n, 53n, 55n, 57n, 67n, 92n, 126n, 129n, 140-1n, 148n, 166n, 184n, 208n, 213n
- Cosynken. *See* Bolet, Hector
- Cotton, William, 195
- Council of Brabant, 14, 148
 of Colonels, 278
 of Finance, 18, 190, 242-3
 of Orange, 31
 of State, 60, 71, 105, 189-92, 211, 229, 232, 239-40, 242-3, 248, 278-9, 307
 of State arrested, 193-4
 of Trent, 41, 79, 117
 Edicts of the, 121
 of Troubles. *See* Blood Council
- Court Church, the, 248
- Courtray, surrender of, to Spaniards, 247
- Cow Gate, the, 108, 143, 257
- Coxie, Michel, 322
 death of, 323
- Crane, the, 118
- Crécy, 301
- Crépy, Peace of (1544), 5
- Cromme-steven. *See* Crumsters
- "Cross, the," Fort of, 294
- Croy, family of, 237, 249
- "Crucifixion" (Quentin Metsys), 78
- Cruelty to the Netherlanders by Philip, 120
- "Crumsters," ships used by the Sea-Beggars, 163, 216
- Cruybeke, 281
- Culembourg, Count of, 63, 66, 112, 178
- Cunerus, Doctor, 72
- Cuvelier, "Les Dénombrements de Foyers en Brabant," 280n
- Cyprus, 148
- Dacres, 150
- Dale, Paul van, 20, 48
- Dambrugge, 104, 107
 Lordship of, acquired by Anthony van Straelen, 24
- Damme, 274
- D'Anastro, Gasparo, 261
- D'Andelot, Pierre, 103, 131
- D'Assonleville, 55, 189
- "Das Zeitalter der Fugger," by Ehrenberg, 18n, 19n, 209n
- Dathenus, Peter, apostate Carmelite monk, 61, 98, 178, 236
- D'Avila, Sancho, 128, 137-8, 163-4, 169-70, 172-3, 176, 178, 180, 189, 191-2, 198, 200, 204, 210-11
- Davison, William, English Ambassador, 218-20, 225
- Dauphin, Prince, of Auvergne, 257
- "De Bello Belgico," by Strada, 153-4 and notes
- Delft, 177, 251, 278
 William of Orange murdered at, 279
- "Den Baes," 43
- Denmark scoured by Alva for seamen, 163
- Denys, Jean, 106
- D'Epinoy, Prince, 213, 247-9, 255, 264
- Deurne, 104, 106-7, 274-5
- Dialogue between the Pope and the Devil, 59
- Diercxsens, 317
- Dierick, 263
- Diest, 23, 264, 293
 captured by Count Mansfeld, 276
 captured by Don John, 225
 captured by William of Orange, 158
- Diest, Baron of. *See* William of Orange, 30
- Diet, the, 122
 at Frankfurt, 34
- Dillenburg, 112
- Dinant, 3
- Dixmude capitulates to Spaniards, 276
 French Fury succeeds at, 69
- Dockaert, Philip, 203
- Doel, 159, 278, 284, 287, 293
 captured by Justinus of Nassau, 291
- Doesburg, 235
- Doge of Venice, 16
- Dollaert, 287n
- Dolhain, Seigneur de. *See* Berghes, Adrain de

- Dominicans, 23, 122, 149, 178, 186-7, 224, 227, 230n, 318
 church of, taken over by Calvinists, 230, 253
 church of, pillaged, 79
 church of, rebuilding of, 325
- Dordoigno, Pedro, hanged for attempt on life of William of Orange, 272
- Dortrecht, 154, 156, 165, 265, 316
- Douay, 33, 97
 and treaty with Philip, 239
 enters Union of Arras, 238
- Dover, 150, 152-3, 315
 Castle, 150
- Drake, 281
- Driele, 12
- Drossart of Brabant, 69, 71, 73, 87, 104, 107, 115, 137
- Dryhoek (Triangle), 240
- Duffel, van, 303
- Duffle, 69
 bridge at, destroyed, 195
- Dukes of Brabant, 264
- Dunkirk, 157, 169, 179, 186, 262, 315
 capitulates to Spaniards, 276
 French Fury succeeds at, 269
- Dutch, 280, 313, 316
 as Sea-Beggars, 146
- Duvivier, Nicolas, 13
- Duyveland, 185
- Easterlings (Merchants of the Hansa), 27, 39, 48, 70, 90, 138, 143, 150, 174, 185, 187, 202, 219, 322, 324
 House of, 82, 201
- East Indies, 316
- Edict of Amboise, 31, 35-6
- Eeckhof, 108, 274
- Egg Market, 25, 63
- Egmont, Count, 8, 14, 22, 30, 33-4, 37, 40-1, 48-50, 54-5, 59, 63, 66, 68-9, 92, 99, 101, 103, 112-5, 122-3, 130, 133, 323
 arrest of, 121
 execution of, at Brussels, 128
- Egmont, Philip, son of Count, 197, 200-1, 232-3, 243, 309
 made Grand Pantler under Duke of Anjou, 264
- Ehrenberg, 18n, 19n, 209n
- Eindhoven, 255, 266, 276
 captured by Count Mansfeld, 276
- Electo (commander of mutineers), 172, 174-6, 200
- "Elephant, the," 298
- Elizabeth, Queen of England, 14, 20-2, 33-4, 38-41, 65, 84-5, 90, 116, 131, 137-9, 144-8, 150, 153, 157, 162, 164, 167, 179-80, 184, 189-91, 207, 209, 219, 221, 226, 237, 249-50, 255-6, 259, 263-4, 271, 287, 289, 297-8, 301, 305-7, 309, 314-5, 318, 322-4
 and French Fury, 270
 and the treasure ships, 133
- Elizabeth, Queen of England—*contd.*
 assigns Norwich to the Netherlanders, 57
 grants Alva's demands, 152
 helps the States after defeat, 231-5
 indebtedness to Lixhalls, 19
 projected marriage of, to Duke of Anjou, 156
 reported betrothal to the Duke of Anjou, 254
 sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland offered to, 184
 treaty with States-General, 225
- Emden, 38, 40, 134, 145, 152, 179, 250, 316
- Emperor of Germany, 115, 122
- Ende, Colonel van, 195-7, 200, 205, 207
 "Engeland en de Nederlanden," by Brugmans, 90 n
- England, 38, 40, 43, 47-8, 54, 76, 90, 99, 134-5, 140, 154, 156, 162, 165, 167, 180, 225, 232, 280, 288-90, 292, 302-3, 309
 invasion of, plotted by Alva, 162
 peace with Spain, 117
 quarrels with Spain, 28, 39, 133, 216
- English, 39, 64, 83, 90, 109, 139, 144, 164-5, 195, 210, 238-41, 266, 280-1, 295-7, 299, 313, 316
 as Sea-Beggars, 146
 Bourse at Antwerp, 48, 200
 commandeer Philip's treasure ships, 133-4
 Council, 232
 House at Antwerp, 133-4, 220, 232, 237, 256
 pirates, 22, 134
 Protestants, 3
 Quay at Antwerp, 145
 seize ships journeying from Portugal to Antwerp, 134
 "English Garner," by Arber, 203n
- Enkhuizen, 154-6, 166
- "Entombment" (Quentin Metsys), 322, 324
- Eric of Brunswick, 195
- Escovedo (secretary to Don John), 210-3
- Even, Ed. van, 25n
- Everdy Street, 89
- Eworth, Hans, 322
- Executioner, pay of, 15
- Executions. *See* Anabaptists; *also* Calvinists; *also* Heretics
- Eynde, Hans van, 218
- Fabricius, Christopher (Calvinist), 43-7, 122
 burned in the Market Place, 29
- Factor of "The Violet" (Willem van Haecht), 24
- Fadrique, Don (son of Alva), 142, 155-6
- Faille, Jacques de la, 246, 267
- Faille, Jan de la, 246-7
- Falcon Sisters, Cloister of, 48, 79, 133, 243

- "Falconer," the, at Brunswick, 322
 Farnese, Alexander (son of Margaret of Parma), 49-50, 216, 223, 225, 236, 238, 248, 252, 254, 262-3, 265, 270-1, 279-93, 296-9, 301, 303-8, 310-11, 313-18, 321
 attacks Maastricht, 244
 captures Alost, 277
 captures Borgerhout, 302
 captures Brussels and Nimeguen, 290
 captures Fort of Grimberghe, 282
 captures Steenberghe, 276
 captures Termonde, 282
 captures Tournay, 254
 encounter with States troops, 239
 failure of, to seize Ostend, 290
 false rumours of death, 233
 made Duke of Parma, 317
 made Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 309
 passes into Flanders, 255
 portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 322
 portrait painted by Martin de Vos, 323
 successes of, 276
 surrender of Antwerp to, 307
 Fervacques, Monsieur de, 266, 269
 Financial conditions under Charles and Philip, 18
 Fitzwilliams, John, 102
 Flanders, 33, 47, 76, 83, 135, 156, 159, 172, 176, 179, 183, 194-5, 208, 222, 229, 238, 240, 245, 259, 265, 278, 280-1, 283-4, 295, 312, 314-5
 Arschot made Governor of, 220
 attacks by Beggars in, 160
 county of, in
 executions in, 128
 Lower, 109
 scoured by Wild-Beggars, 146
 towns of, enter Union of Utrecht, 238
 West, 59, 74
 Fleckhamer, Thomas, 19
 Flemings, 131
 as Sea-Beggars, 146
 escape of, from Steen, 15
 Flemish Calvinists, 89
 Headland, 192
 "Flibots," ships used by Sea-Beggars, 163
 Florence, Duke of, 34
 Florentines, 207
 Floris, Cornelis (dc Vriendt), 24
 architect of New Town House, 27, 324
 death of, 324
 Franz, 25, 78, 321-4
 Flushing, 14, 97, 105-6, 149-50, 154-5, 158-9, 162, 164-5, 170, 177, 179, 182, 211, 214, 225, 233, 236, 254-5, 265, 271, 307, 309, 311, 314-5
 Flushing—*contd.*
 people of, rise in favour of the Beggars, 153
 held by the Beggars, 157
 Food, high prices of, during Alva's fights with Beggars, 161
 "Fools' Liveries," 40
 Fortification Chamber, 275
 Fort St. Margaret, 210, 264
 "Fortune, the," 291
 "Four Winds, the," Jerome Cock's print-shop, 325
 France, 30, 32-3, 35, 38, 40-1, 54, 62, 90, 99, 102, 105, 126, 140, 154, 156, 172, 180, 191, 219, 232, 234, 271, 288-90
 campaign against the Huguenots by Arenberg in, 128
 Constable of, 40
 end of Third Civil War in, 145
 First Civil War in, 30
 jewels of King of, pawned, 33
 King of, 33, 66, 126, 131-2, 209, 234-5, 259, 289, 300
 outbreak of civil war in, 28
 scoured by Alva for seamen, 163
 Second Civil War in, 123
 Third Civil War in, 133
 Franciscans. *See* Grey Friars
 Francken, Ambrose, 321
 Franz, 323
 Jerome, 321
 Frankert, Hans, 323
 Frankfurt, 298, 316
 Diet at, 34
 Fraternity of Our Lady of Victories, 149
 French, 47, 62, 83, 94, 109, 138, 179, 184, 238-9, 241, 251, 260, 272, 276, 280, 287, 314
 as Sea-Beggars, 146
 Catholics, 151
 Church in London, 298
 first public sermon in, 59
 Revolution, 316
 Theatre, 237
 "French Fury, the," 268-71, 275-6n
 Frésin, Heer van. *See* Gavre, Charles de
 Friars Minor. *See* Grey Friars
 Friday Market, 160, 252, 326
 Friesland, 128, 135, 158, 186, 221, 255, 279, 288
 enters Union of Utrecht, 238
 Lordship of, in
 Froissart, 148
 Frondsberger, Colonel, 192-3, 196-7, 213, 215
 Fugger, Colonel, 203, 213, 215
 Fuggers, the (family of bankers), 18-19, 119, 189, 193, 196-7, 200-1, 203
 House of the, 223
 "Fur Cloak, the," 135
 Furnes capitulates to the Spaniards, 276
 "Fury, the French," 267
 "Fury, the Spanish," 189

- Gachard, L. P., 16n, 31n, 38n, 43-4n, 49n, 51n, 53n, 55n, 57n, 67n, 92n, 101n, 105n, 126n, 129n, 140-1n, 148n, 150n, 166, 184n, 208n, 213n
- Galia, Lopez, 21
daughter of, married to D'Avila, 138
- Gallows erected in Market Place, 81
- Gallowsfield, the, 45, 48, 147
- Gand, 314
Bishop of, 152
- Gand, Viscomte de, 169, 185, 211
- Gaspar (surgeon), 263
- Gau, Captain, 281
- Gavre, Charles de (Heer van Frésin), 243-4
- Gembloux, battle of, 225-6, 231, 274
- Génard, P., 204-5 and notes, 274n
- Geneva, 58, 89, 236
- Genlis, Sieur de. *See* Hangest, Jean de
- Genoa, 57, 158, 186, 212, 315
- Genoese, 207
- Genre-painters, 320-1
- Gérard, Balthazar, murders William of Orange at Delft, 279
- "German Fury" feared, 215
- German garrison moved into Antwerp Castle, 128
mercenaries, 173
mutineers, 181
- Germans, 109, 115, 119, 125, 129, 131, 142, 159-60, 162, 173, 183, 187, 192, 196, 199-201, 212-3, 266, 299, 308-9, 311
as Sea-Beggars, 146
plundering by, 202
- Germany, 29, 38, 40, 54, 62, 68, 83-4, 90, 92, 97-8, 100, 107, 112, 117, 122, 140, 180, 219, 232, 249, 289, 293, 315-6
- Gershoven, Aert, drowned in Steen, 34
Jacob van, drowned in Steen, 34
- Gertruydenberg, 166
seized for Orange and the Beggars, 165
- Géry, Gislain, 44
beheaded, 43
- "Geschiedenis van Antwerpen," by Mertens and Torfs, 25n
- Gheel, 66
- Ghent, 12, 23, 38-9, 44, 48, 66, 102, 113, 120, 125, 129, 146, 159, 172, 181, 208, 221-2, 224-5, 229, 232, 235-8, 241, 248, 253, 255, 265, 275-8, 280, 283-4, 287, 292, 317
Castle, 194-5, 204, 208-9
chastisement of, by Charles V, 3
- Gheuse, 83. *See* Gueux
- Gianibelli, Frederico (Mantuan), 285, 291-2, 299
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 157
- Gilpin, George (secretary of the Merchant Adventurers), 297
- Gistele, Edward van, 301-2
- Glimes, Seigneur de, 170, 176
- Glove Market, 149
- "Golden Angel, the" (printing office), 128, 326
- Golden Bull, the, 34
- "Golden Compasses, the," 326
- Golden Fleece, Knights of the Order of the, 50, 69, 80, 82, 113-4, 189
Order of, conferred on Farnese, 309
- "Golden Horse, the," 262
- "Golden Lion, the," 59
- "Golden Tree, the," 182
- "Golden Unicorn, the" 326
- Goldsmith's Street (rue des Orfèvres), 324
- Gonzaga, Octavio, 210
- Gorkum, 12, 154
- Gossart, Jan, 320
- Grand Prior, the (Toledo, Fernando de), 138
- Granvelle, Cardinal, Bishop of Arras, (Archbishop of Malines), 17, 21-3, 28, 30-2, 34-5, 37-40, 45-50, 58, 67, 97n, 118, 120, 125, 128, 148 and note, 155, 190, 231, 249, 252, 263, 280-1, 290, 323
and William of Orange, breach between, 31
fall of, 41
portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 322
portrait painted by William Key, 323
- Grauwels, Jean, 104, 126, 136
- Grave, 174
- Gravelines, 225, 315
- Great Beggar. *See* Brederode
- Greenwich, 157
Palace, 22
- Greffier, the (Willem Martini), goes to the Diet, 34; as conspirator, 182, 214
- Gresham, Sir Thomas, 19-22, 24, 26, 33, 36, 40-1, 66, 83-4, 90, 92, 221, 325
appointment as Ambassador to the Court of Margaret of Parma, 21
portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 322
- Grey Friars, 72, 79, 102, 108, 114, 160, 176, 184, 187, 195, 218, 226-9, 248, 252, 318
church of, 65, 91, 101, 125
church of, taken over by Calvinists, 230, 253
cloister of, 88-9, 186
- "Gridiron, the," 326
- Grimberghe, Fort of, captured by Farnese, 282
- Grimmer, Jacob (genre-painter), 321, 324
- Grobbendonck, 239
- Groen, 61n
- Groningen, 125, 128
enters Union of Utrecht, 238
Lordship of, 1n

- Gualterotti, 18
 Guelders, 156, 221, 238, 288
 Duchy of, in
 enters Union of Utrecht, 238
 Guesthouse (Hospital), 127, 298
 Meadows, 89, 95
 Street, 25, 240, 257
 Gueux, the, 56 and note, 65, 69, 77,
 84, 91, 102-4, 128, 130-4, 136, 249
 capture Walcheren, 170
 medals cast for, 56. *See also*
 Beggars; *also* Sea-Beggars; *also*
 Wild-Beggars
 Guicciardini, Ludovico, 2, 23, 247-8,
 321, 326
 Guild Houses in the Market Place,
 200-1
 of Butchers, 279
 of Coopers, 325
 of Crossbowmen, 203, 248, 324
 of Furriers, 324
 of Harquebusmen, 124
 of Mariners, 325
 of St. Luke, 24, 322
 Guinea, 316
 Guise, 14, 33, 219, 225
 assassination of, 35-7

 Haagspel, 26
 Haecht, Willem van (poet), 24, 28
 Haeck, Peter, 106
 Haemstede, Adolph van, 160, 176
 capture of, 177
 Hague, the, 251
 Hainaut, 156, 208, 239, 243
 and treaty with Philip, 239
 county of, in
 enters Union of Arras, 238
 "Half Moon, the," 271
 Hamburg, 21, 38, 138, 145, 152, 316
 Hamburgers, 40
 Hames, Nicolas de (King-at-Arms of
 the Order of the Golden Fleece),
 50, 82, 92
 incident at *prêche*, 60
 Hangest, Jean de (Sieur de Genlis),
 death of, 168
 Hannibal, Count (d'Altemps), 185, 189,
 191, 195-6
 men under, mutiny, 190
 Hansa. *See* Easterlings
 Hanseatic League. *See* Easterlings
 Hans of Herenthals (surgeon), 263
 Haraeus, 172n
 Hardi, Philippe le, 97, 258
 Harlem, 154, 163, 165, 228, 239, 316
 fall of, to the Spaniards, 165
 Harquebusmen's Garden, 89
 Haultain, Lord of, 297
 Haultepenne, Count of, 309
 Havre, 157
 Havré, Marquis de, 197-9, 201, 213,
 237-9, 243, 247
 Hawkwood, Sir John, 148
 Headman of "The Violet" (Anthony
 van Straelen), 24

 Heere, Lucas de (portraitist), 61, 321
 Heidelberg, 43, 217
 Hemessen, Jan van, 321
 Hemixen, 80
 Henry II, 1, 19, 30-1
 Henry III, 269, 287, 289-90, 301, 305
 sovereignty of Holland offered to,
 184
 Henry VIII, 20
 Henry of Navarre, 219, 289, 305
 Henryke (Henri Paschen), 325 and
 note
 Herenthals, 226, 232, 239, 246, 263-5,
 275, 282, 285
 captured by William of Orange, 158
 siege of, 276
 Heresy in Orange, suppression of, 31
 Hertsen, Jacob, 112
 Hessel, van, 303
 Hessian House, 249
 Merchants, 74, 325
 "Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaers
 Spiegel der Doopsgesinde," by
 Braght, 11n, 17, 168, 202, 217
 "Het Landjuweel van Antwerpen in
 1561," by Van Even, 25n
 Heton, Thomas, 202
 Heyligerlee, 128, 130, 210
 Hierges, M. de, 213
 High Street, 198, 258, 267, 310
 "Histoire de Belgique," by Pirenne,
 61n
 "Histoire der Nederlandscher ende
 haerder naburen oorlogen ende
 geschiedenissen," by Meteren,
 312n
 "History of the People of the Nether-
 lands," by Blok, 118n
 Hoboken, 278
 Hochstetter Street, 42
 Hoddesdon, Christopher, 252
 Hoefnagels, Georges (painter), 203,
 322, 324
 Hœmstedius, 17n
 Hoffman, Gilles (merchant), 20, 90, 98,
 157, 174, 277, 324
 Hohenlo, Count (brother-in-law to
 William of Orange), 260, 264, 276,
 277, 289, 291-2, 294-6, 298,
 302-3, 305-6
 Holbein, 321
 Holland, 30, 58, 86, 92, 100, 103, 118,
 135, 139-40, 154, 156, 158, 161,
 165, 171-2, 177, 184, 186, 208-11,
 219, 221, 229, 235, 240, 246, 249,
 251, 253, 271, 273, 278-9, 281,
 286-7, 289, 291, 293, 301-2, 305-6,
 311, 314, 316
 county of, in
 enters Union of Utrecht, 238
 executions of Calvinists in, 128
 Governor of (William of Orange), 30
 harbours of, in French hands, 255
 sovereignty of, offered to Queen
 Elizabeth, 184
 State of, 180

- Hollanders, 170, 204, 288, 292, 299, 302
 aptitude as sailors, 166
- Hont, 165
- Hoofte, P. C., 312n., 318
- Hoogstraeten, Count of (Anthony de Lalaing), 40, 50, 54-6, 66-7, 73, 92-6, 98, 101, 104, 106-7, 109-12, 132, 215, 232, 239, 264, 293
 proclamation issued against, 127
- Hoogstraeten, Castle of, captured by Count Mansfeld, 276
- "Hope, the," 291
- Horn, Count of, 14, 30, 33-4, 37, 40, 50, 54, 73, 92, 100-1, 122-3, 130, 323
 arrest of, 121
 execution of, at Brussels, 128
- Horse Market, 89, 143, 304, 318
- Hospital, Nuns of the, 243
- Howard, Charles, 255
 Thomas, 255
- "Huguenot Martyrology" (forbidden book), 59
- Huguenot War in France, 28, 30, 41, 123, 128, 133, 145
- Huguenots, 30, 33, 54-5, 62, 128, 133, 135, 145, 168, 249
- Huldenberghe, Master Pauwels van, 16
- Hulst, Colonel van der, 245
 van der (Inquisitor), 53
- Hungary, 67, 125
 Emperor of, 54
- Hunsdon, Lord, 255
- Huys, Peter (painter), 320
- Image-breaking, 34, 48, 76-7, 247, 326
- Imbeze, 221
- Immerseele, Jan van, 10-11, 27, 37, 41, 44, 46, 57n, 61, 66, 77, 79, 138, 181
- Imperial Chamber, 51
- Infanta of Spain, 250
- Infante of Portugal, portrait of, painted by Antonio Moro, 322
- Inquisition, 28, 32, 37, 39, 51-6, 58, 63, 71-2, 86, 115, 120-1, 129, 131, 136, 158, 180
- Ipswich, 162n
- Ireland, 162
- Isabella of Valois, portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 322
- Italian Catholics, 242
 mutineers, 181
 soldiers, savage conduct of, 167
- Italians, 62, 90-1, 109, 113, 115, 160, 174, 201, 249n, 299, 308, 310, 321
 plundering by, 202
- Italy, 37, 40, 57, 61, 66, 98, 120, 126, 154, 177, 258, 289
- Jakobzoon, Jakob, 283, 291, 297
- Jarnac, 135, 247n, 257
- Jauregui, Juan, attempts murder of William of Orange, 260-3
- Jemmingen, 130, 133
- Jesuits, 64, 160, 176, 178, 184, 187, 194-5, 203, 218, 224, 226-8, 230, 318
 church of, taken over by Calvinists, 253
 House of, 67
- Jews, Christianized, 4
- Joachim, heretic leader, 32
- John, Don (Governor-General of the Netherlands), 150, 158, 207-15, 218-20, 223-6, 231, 233-5, 239
 death of, 236
- John IV, Duke, 203
 of Leyden, 168
 of Nassau (brother of William of Orange), 219, 225, 248, 260
- Jon, François du. *See* Junius
- Jongelincx, Jacques (sculptor), 56, 133, 325
- Joseph (physician to Archduke Matthias), 248
- Josse of Cleves, 320
- Jouarre, Convent at, 184
- Joyous Entries, 8 and note, 32, 178, 322
 Entry, of Anjou, 256-7, 322
 of Archduke Matthias into Brussels, 225
- Julich, 238
- Junius, (François du Jon), 51-2, 54
 attempt to arrest, 58
- Junius (Jonghe, Jean de), 248, 254, 287, 307
- Justinus of Nassau, 290, 295, 297
 recaptures Doel, 291
 recaptures Liefkenshoek, 291
 recaptures St. Anthonyshoek, 291
 recaptures Terventen, 291
- Kaiser Street, 326
- Kattendyke, the, 123
- Kauwenstein Dyke, 275, 279, 280-2, 287, 293-6, 298, 305-6, 310
- Kermesses, 321
- Kervyn de Lettenhove, 21n, 32n, 34n, 36n, 40n, 51n, 60n, 64n, 82n-3n, 93n, 102n, 115n-6n, 322n
- Key, Adrian (portraitist), 322
- Key, Willem (pupil of Lambert Lombard), 322-4
 death of, 323
 "Key, the," 324
- Keyle, John, 60, 64
- Keyser, Jan de, drowned in Steen, 17
- Kiel, 49, 70, 72, 123, 194, 238, 256, 274
 parish priest of, 81, 88, 98
- Kipdorp, 42, 59, 65, 108-9, 121, 138
 Gate, 200, 243, 251, 267-9, 271, 274, 325
- Klapdorp, 101, 143
- Kloppersdyke, 311
- Kraankind (porter), 78
- Kroonenburg Gate, 49, 70, 123, 198, 267, 269, 285
- Kroonenburg Tower demolished, 124

- Laer, 60, 65, 68, 70, 73-4, 142
preaching at, 59 and note
- Lalaing, Anthony de. *See* Hoogstraeten, Count of
- Landjewel, 18, 22-9, 122, 322
at Ghent, 23
Chambers of rhetoric at:
"Burning Thornbush," 26
"Lily of the Vale of Calvary," 24
"Lily of the Valley, 26
"Living Tree," 25
"Marigold," 24
"Mary's Garland," 25
"Olive-branch," 24
"Peony," 26
"Rose," 26
"Violet," 23-4
- Land of Waes, 245, 255, 276, 278, 283-4, 287
- Landrecies, 182
- Lannoy, Philip de (Seigneur de Beauvoir), 107-8, 113, 155, 164-5, 169-70, 177
- La Paix de Prestes. *See* Perpetual Edict
- Laval, Count of, 257, 262, 271-2
- Léau, 132
captured by Don John, 225, 231
tabernacle at, made by Cornelis Floris, 324
- Lee, Sir Henry, 148
"Leicester Correspondence," 315n
- Leicester, Earl of, 218, 221, 236, 255-6, 301, 314-5
- Leipzig, 30, 32
- Leith, 21-2
- Lepanto, Battle of, 149, 150, 158, 169-70, 207 230 n
- Leperhouse destroyed, 285
"Les Huguenots et Les Gueux," by Kervyn de Lettenhove, 32n, 51n
"Les Poursuits contre les fauteurs de la Furie espagnole," by Génard, 204n
- Levant, 41, 154
- Leyden, 177, 239, 306, 316
relieved by Boisot, 180
- Leys, Peter (painter), 256
- Libertines, 4, 40, 43, 217
- Liedekercke, Baron van, 214-5, 219
- Liefkenshoek, Fort of, 274, 278, 280-1, 284, 291, 302, 316
- Liège, 3, 86, 111, 126, 131-2, 152, 177, 298-9
Bishop of, 219
bishopric of, 7
- Lierre, 63-4, 66, 80, 107, 121, 142, 197, 199, 201, 205, 209, 212, 223, 226, 232-5, 237, 246, 254, 264, 275-6, 283, 293, 306
betrayal to Farnese, 265
seized by Spaniards, 194
Spanish garrison at, 276
Castle of, 195
House of, in Princes' Street, 109, 202
- "Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham," by Burgon, 25n
- Lille, 44, 70, 109, 239
and treaty with Philip II, 239
enters Union of Arras, 238
- Lillo, Fort of, 107, 163, 177, 196, 255-6, 264, 272, 274-5, 279-80, 282, 284, 286, 289, 291, 294-5, 298, 303, 306, 309, 315-6
"Lily of the Vale of Calvary" (Chamber of Rhetoric), 24
"Lily of the Valley" of Léau (Chamber of Rhetoric), 26
- Limburg, 210, 233, 236
Duchy of, 11
- Lipsius, Justus, 326
- Lisbon, 157, 316
"Living Tree" of Lierre (Chamber of Rhetoric), 25
- Lixhalls, Andrew, 19
- Lodron (Lodroni), Count, 119-20, 124-5, 127-31, 133-4, 142-3, 148-9
made Governor of Antwerp, 121
- Lombard, Lambert, 321
- Lombards, the, 207
- London, 33-5, 39, 52, 57, 85, 134, 298
Tower of, 21, 134
- Long Church, the, of the Flemish Calvinists, 89
Hospital Street (Guesthouse Street), 277
Margaret, 43-5
New Street, 257, 262, 268
"Looking Glass, the," 171-2
- Lopez, Henry, 207
Martin (brother-in-law to Perez), 97
- Lord's Supper of the Calvinists, 96
- Lorraine, 152
- Louis of Nassau (brother to William of Orange), 50, 52, 55, 63-4, 66-7, 90, 92, 98, 103, 112, 130-1, 149, 156-7, 159-60, 166, 168, 171-2, 177, 193
defeat and death at Mook, 172
defeats Arenberg at Heyligerlee, 128
gives up Mons, 158
- Louise de Teligny (wife of William of Orange), 272
- Louvain, 1, 72, 97, 112, 127, 133, 136, 142, 158, 255
proposed college for Spaniards at, 141
secured by Don John, 225
- Louvre, 256
- Loy (heretic), 43, 53-4
- Luccese, 207
- Lucretia, daughter of Carlo Affaitadi, captured by the Beggars, 190
- Luisbeke-Laer. *See* Laer
- Luthagen, 121
- Luke, Guild of St. (Painters' Guild), 24
- Lumbres, de, 150
- Luther, 91, 97, 114, 122
ban on, 4
doctrines of, 5

- Lutheran books, importation of, 3
 ministers sent to Antwerp by Louis of Nassau, 98
 propaganda in Antwerp, 4
 tendencies of William of Orange, 67
- Lutherans, 47, 50, 55, 58, 61, 75, 81-3, 88-9, 98, 105, 109, 112, 217, 230-1, 245, 258, 317
 take over Catholic churches, 253
- Luxemburg, 97, 115, 156, 194, 207-10, 219, 236
 Duchy of, 111
 Luydincx, Paul, 325
- Maastricht, 12, 103, 114, 125, 132, 166, 172, 193, 197, 205, 209, 211-2, 232, 238-40, 243, 245-6
 attacked by Farnese, 244
 fall of, 244
 plundered by Spaniards, 196
 seized by Spaniards, 194
- Machiavelli, 125, 166, 231
- Madrid, 32, 39, 252
- Magistrates of Antwerp, 10, 13, 17-18, 40-3, 46, 48, 50-4, 57-60, 62-3, 65-8, 71, 73-4, 76-8, 80, 86, 88-9, 91, 93, 95, 99-101, 104, 106, 109, 112, 114, 116, 119-20, 125, 127, 129, 164, 175, 182, 194-5, 197-8, 202, 210, 212-3, 215-6, 218, 221, 228, 230-1, 233, 238, 242-3, 245, 249-50, 252-6, 259, 266-7, 279, 283-6, 296, 299, 305, 307, 323-4, 326
 Board of, replenished by Alva, 128
 deputation from, waits on Margaret of Parma, 113
 Edict of, 5
 hold inquiry into attempted murder of William of Orange, 261
 opposition of, to Inquisitors, 5, 32
 seize papers of Duke of Anjou, 269
- Maid of Antwerp, 143, 257, 309
- Malcontents, the, 220, 236-7, 259
- Malines, 7, 65-6, 103, 112-4, 142, 159, 178, 193-5, 199, 204, 213-4, 226, 228, 235-7, 241, 252, 264, 275, 277, 280, 288, 291-2, 298, 307, 313-4, 323-4
 Archbishop of (Cardinal Granvelle), 16
 captured by William of Orange, 158
 explosion at, 126
 Lordship of, 111
 recovered by the States, 247
 surrender of, to Farnese, 304
 taken by Spaniards, 244
- Mander, van (Vasari of the Netherlands), 321, 323-4
- Manlich, 185
- Mansfeld, Charles (son of Count Mansfeld), 113, 293, 298, 309
 Count Ernest, 97, 100, 112-3, 115, 118-9, 121, 149, 192, 309
- Mansfeld Charles—*contd.*
 captures Castle of Hoogstraeten, Diest, Eindhoven, Westerlo, and Zichem, 276
 made Governor of Antwerp, 114
 "Map of the World" (Abraham Ortelius), printed by Plantin, 326
- Marck, William de la, 150, 153
- Margaret of Parma, 14-16, 18, 22-3, 28-9, 31-41, 44-6, 49-53, 55-6, 58-71, 74, 80-1, 84, 86-9, 92-7, 99-101, 103-7, 112-4, 116, 120-1, 129, 140, 150, 236-7
 arrives at Antwerp, 113
 banishment of preachers from Antwerp, 100
 calls William of Orange to Brussels, 74
 departure from Netherlands, 125-6
 goes to Brussels, 117
 marriage of son of, 49-50
 portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 322
 returns to Provinces, 253
 summons the Knights of the Golden Fleece to Brussels, 73
- Margate, 22, 315
- Margrave, the, 9 and note, 101, 12-13, 17-18, 27, 32 and note, 34-5, 38, 43-4, 46, 48, 52, 57-9, 66, 72-3, 76-7, 86, 89, 93, 95, 104, 111, 122, 124, 126, 136, 146, 155, 168, 181-3, 195, 226, 237, 240, 304, 311, 317
- Margravelei, 197
- Margraveship of Antwerp taken over by Duke of Anjou, 257
- Maria (Spanish captain), 148
- "Marigold, the" (Chamber of Rhetoric), 24-6
- Mariners' Guild, 182
- Market Place, Antwerp, 24-5, 45, 64, 77, 80-1, 86, 94, 108-9, 119, 122, 128, 132, 135, 137-8, 140, 146, 174, 198, 200-1, 238, 257-8, 262, 267, 272, 275, 324-5, 307
 altar erected on the, 175
- Marnix, Jean de (Seigneur de Tholouse) 103
 killed in battle, 107
 Philippe de. *See* St. Aldegonde
- Marot, Clement, 61
 translation of Psalms by, 46
- Marshall of the Court. *See* Red Rod of Brabant
- Martini, Willem, 34, 182-3, 214-5, 278
- Martinists (Lutherans), 61
- Mary of Hungary, 54
- Mary Queen of Scots, 2-3, 38, 150-1, 289
 "Mary's Garland" (Chamber of Rhetoric), 25
 "Massacre of the Innocents" (Brueghel), 321
- Matthias, Archduke, 220-1, 223, 226, 228-30, 233-5, 239-45, 247-9, 266, 275, 322

- Matthias, Archduke—*contd.*
 demonstration against Court of, 238
 makes his Joyous Entry into Brussels, 225
 resignation of, 249
- Maurice of Nassau (son of William of Orange), 257, 260, 279, 286, 290, 307, 313-4
 made Grand Equerry under the Duke of Anjou, 264
- Maximilian, Emperor, 143
 portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 322
- Medici, Catherine de, 36, 48, 250, 259, 266, 269, 287
 family, portraits of, by Martin de Vos, 323
- Mediterranean, 316
- Meer, the, 107-9, 111, 119, 122, 128, 132, 139, 144, 174, 176-7, 200, 257, 268, 272, 310
 Bridge, 25, 43, 108, 138, 176, 200, 215, 232, 247, 257
- Meere, Jan vander (Burgomaster), 201
- Meghem, Count, 40, 63-5, 92, 97, 100, 103, 125, 139, 143
- Melancthon, 97
 "Mémoires," by Perrenot (Champagney), 204n
- "Mémoires Anonymes sur les Troubles des Pays-Bas," 233n, 236n, 238n, 246n
- "Mémoires sur les Troubles des Pays-Bas," by Antonio del Rio, 167n, 216
- Mendez, Ruy, 19
- Mendoça, Bernardino de, 166
 "Mengelingen," Willems, 272n
- Mercator, 326
- Merchant Adventurers, 20, 39, 47, 134, 164, 179, 202, 221, 250, 256, 297
- Merchants of the Staple at Bruges, 20
- Mercxem, 32, 69, 73, 104, 106-7, 115, 121, 275
 Lordship of, acquired by Anthony van Straelen, 24
- Mermier, Stephen (Burgundian), 59
- Mertens, F. H., 25n, 166
- Meteren, E. van, 39n, 250n, 312n, 326
 description of Sea-Beggars by, 180
- Metsys, Jan (son of Quentin Metsys), 320
 Quentin, 22, 78, 320-1, 323
- Metz, 36, 166
- Meuse, 30, 131-2, 172, 174, 238
- Michaelangelo, 321
- Michese, John, 97
- Middelburg, 40, 106, 155, 160, 163-5, 169-72, 225-6, 297, 303, 309, 316
 Burgomaster of, arrested for conspiracy to betray the town, 134
- Middledonck, Jacob van (rhetorician), 23
- Milan, 3n, 51, 68, 169, 212
- Milk Market, 25
- Military Guilds, 56, 61, 73-7, 80-2, 84, 96, 106, 108-10, 132, 143, 173, 182, 195, 200, 215, 219-20, 224-6, 230, 241, 252, 257, 272, 277-8, 281, 286, 304, 306, 311
 defend Lillo against Spaniards, 107
- Minderbroeders. *See* Grey Friars
- Mint, the, 95, 115
- Mirambeau, Sieur de, 270-1
- Mock preacher in pulpit of Our Lady's Church, 75
- Modet, Herman (Calvinist minister), 58, 73-4, 78-81, 109, 112, 178
 enters pulpit of Our Lady's Church and incites mob to smash images, 77
 exhorts people to return plunder to the churches pillaged, 80
- Molengat, 25, 242
- Mollekens Ram, 89, 96, 99, 144
- Moncontour, Battle of, 135-6, 257
- Mondragon, Colonel, 160, 164, 181, 185, 191, 281-2, 284, 293, 306
 captures Carpen, 238
 false rumour of death of, 233
 made Commandant of Antwerp Castle, 310
 mutiny of Spaniards under, 191
- Money raised by Catherine de Medici seized by Huguenots, 36
- Monks. *See the following*: Boggaerds, Carmelites, Cell-Brothers, Dominicans, Franciscans, Friars Minor, Grey Friars, Peter Pot's monks, Recollets. *See also* St. Michael's Abbey.
- Monks wear lay attire, 95
- Mons, 156, 158-61, 168, 171, 193, 233-4 238, 243
 seized by Louis of Nassau, 156
- Montanus, Arias, 136, 176, 326
- Monte, Camillo del, 294
- Montigny, 40
- Montpensier, Duke of (father-in-law of William of Orange), 184
- Mook, 172-4, 178
- Moors, 169
- Morgan, Colonel, 157, 295-6, 299-301, 306
- Morillon, Provost, 97n-8, 118, 155, 190, 212, 290
 on attempted murder of William of Orange, 263
- Morisoes, 139
- Moro, Antonio, 321-2
- Mostaert, Gilles (genre-painter), 321
- Motley, J. L., 99 and note, 255, 306
- Moucheron, Colonel, 304, 316
- Mud Gate, 42, 123, 201, 215, 285, 296
- Mühlberg, 5
- Mulder, 14n, 29n
- Münster, 11, 57, 89, 168
 captured by Anabaptists, 5
 regained from Anabaptists, 5
- "Mystic Lamb" (Van Eyck), 322

- Namur, 220, 225, 236
 Castle of, 214
 county of, 11
- Naples, 3n, 68
- Napoleon, 316
- Narden, 160
- Narrow Seas, 22
- Nassau, Count John of, 225. *See also*
 Louis of; *also* Maurice of; *also*
 William of Orange
- Navarrese, Joan, 200
- Navarre, King of. *See* Henry of
- Netherlanders in England, 57
- "Nederlandsche Historien," by Hooft
 312n, 318
- Netherlands, 3n, 35-6, 38, 98, 194, 219,
 246, 301, 307, 314
 Charles' attempt at supremacy in, 3
 festivals of the, 22
- New Guild of Crossbowmen, 324
- New Town, the, 42-3, 70, 73, 81-2, 89,
 96, 118-9, 155, 159, 162, 164,
 174, 182, 195, 197, 201, 215, 274,
 285, 324-5
- Neyen, Martin, 182-3
- Nieuport, 169, 179, 221, 315
 capitulates to Spaniards, 276
 French Fury fails at, 269
- Nigri, Philippe de (Bishop of Antwerp),
 8, 32
- Nimeguen, 143, 292
 capitulates to Farnese, 290
 Convention of, 162
- Nivelles, 13
 secured by Don John, 225
- "Noah's Ark, the," 298
- Noircarmes, Seigneur de, 102, 140, 151,
 155-6, 303
 lays siege to Valenciennes, 98-9
 takes Tournay, 98-9
- Noot, Jan vander, 112
- Norris, Colonel Sir John, 241, 260, 269,
 303, 309
- North Brabant, 266
- Northern Provinces, 240, 290, 302, 314
- Northumberland, Countess of, 147
- Norway, 145
- Norwich, 57, 298
- Nostradamus, 259
- Noue, La (French Huguenot leader),
 156, 240, 245, 286, 313
- Nuns of the Third Order, cloister
 pillaged, 79
- Nuns, Orders of. *See the following* :
 Black Sisters, Falcon Sisters,
 Nuns of the Hospital, Nuns of the
 Third Order, The Nuns, Poor
 Sisters of St. Clara
- The, 253
 cloister pillaged, 79
- Nuremberg, 298
- Nutius (printer), 326
- Oberstein, Count Otto, 189, 191,
 193-7, 199-200, 207
 death of, 201
- "Observations upon the State of the
 Seventeen Provinces," by Sir
 Thomas Overbury, 99 and note
- Oever (Rivage), 109, 115, 119, 258
- Offer of Calvinists to buy their
 religious freedom refused by
 Philip, 100
- Ogilvy, Colonel, 224-5
- Old Bourse, 205
- Old Clothes Market, 127
- Old Cornmarket, 258
- "Old God," 121
- Oléron, 161
- "Olive-branch, the" (Chamber of
 Rhetoric), 24-6
- Omgang, 72, 74-5, 114, 119-20
- "Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh de
 Nederlantsche Oorlogen," by Bor,
 312n
- Orange, Prince of. *See* William of
 Orange
- Orchies, treaty with Philip, 239
 enters the Union of Arras, 238
- Ordam, 282, 284, 292-3, 298
 burnt by Sea-Beggars, 160
- Order of the Holy Spirit, 267
- "Ordinances of Magistrates," 5n
- Ordonnance, Bands of, 34, 59, 71, 84,
 113, 197
- Ortelius, Abraham, 326
- Ortis, Captain Gaspar, 198, 201
- Ostend, 179, 278, 283, 290, 314-5
 French Fury fails at, 269
- Oudaen Street, 89
- Oudenarde, 265
 captured by William of Orange,
 158
- Our Lady's Church, Antwerp, 1-27, 45,
 63, 73, 75-6, 80-1, 86, 93, 95, 102,
 112, 125, 138, 143, 164, 242, 252,
 263-4, 294-5, 323-4
 Chapter of, 226
 made Cathedral, 139
 pillaged, 78-9
 reconsecrated after desecration by
 the Beggars, 116
 taken over by Calvinists, 253
 warning on door of, 66. *See also*
 Cathedral
- Our Lady's Churchyard, 23, 72
- Overbury, Sir Thomas, 99 and note,
 167n
- Overysse, 221, 288
 enters Union of Utrecht, 238
 Lordship of, 11
- Ox Market, 200, 205
- Pacciotto (Italian Engineer), 123
- Pacification of Ghent, 208-10 and
 note, 216, 218, 224, 226, 229
 confirmed by Philip II, 240
- Painters' Guild (Guild of St. Luke),
 24, 320
- Palatine, Count, 44, 232
- Palisades, Fort of the, 293-6
- Papebrochius, 224, 252n, 318

- Papal Bull creating new bishoprics, 9
 Legate, 140
 Pardon, General, 140-2, 169, 178-9,
 186-7, 308
 Parfaits (the Perfect), a curious sect,
 42-3, 98
 Paris, 136
 massacre. *See* St. Bartholomew
 Paschen, Henri. *See* Henryke
 Paul, Bull of, 136
 death of, 12
 Pavia, Castle of, 137
 Payen, Pontus, 112
 on the slack opposition of Catholics
 to heretics, 74
 Peace Conference, at Cologne, 240,
 245-6
 suggested by Farnese, 270
 Peace of Monsieur, 219
 "Peasant" Brueghel. *See* Brueghel,
 Peter
 Peasants' War (1524), 4
 Pedro the Cruel, 148
 Pellizuoli of Bergamo, 124
 Penny, the Tenth (tax), 152-3
 Pentecost Fair, 213
 "Peony, the," of Malines (Chamber of
 Rhetoric), 26
 Pépinière, 15, 147
 Perez, Marco, 91, 96-8, 111
 proclamation issued against, 127
 Pergamont, Jan (Jean de Boubert),
 93-4
 Perpetual Edict (1577), 209-10, 212,
 218, 224
 confirmed by Philip II, 240
 Perrenot, Frederic (Seigneur de Cham-
 pagney). *See* Champagney
 Peter Pot's monks, 243, 253, 318
 cloister of, pillaged, 79
 Petit Bassin, 42
 Petition to the Regent (Margaret)
 demanding the abrogation of the
 Placards, 54
 Philibert, Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, 323
 Philip II, 1, 3 and note, 5, 17-8, 22-4,
 33, 45-51, 53-6, 58, 64, 67-8, 71,
 81, 83, 87, 89, 91-2, 95, 97-101,
 110-12, 114, 116-7, 120-1, 125-9,
 133-4, 136, 139-41, 143, 145-6,
 150-2, 155-7, 159, 161, 166,
 168-70, 172-4, 177-8, 180-1,
 183-6, 188-9, 191-7, 199, 201,
 204-5, 207-11, 218-20, 224, 229,
 232, 234, 239-40, 243-6, 250-6,
 259, 263, 266, 272, 276-8, 280-1,
 285-7, 297, 301, 303, 306-11,
 313-5, 317, 319, 322, 324-6
 and French Fury, 270
 deposed by the States-General, 249
 enters into league with Pope, 139
 establishment of new bishoprics
 by, 6
 heavy cost to, of Spanish and
 Italian soldiers, 167
 in Spain, 14
 Philip II.—*contd.*
 issues circulars to officers of Bands
 of Ordinance, 71
 loses Flushing, 153
 marriage of, 2, 21
 on spread of Calvinism, 6
 plan of, for increasing number of
 bishops, 8
 portrait painted by Antonio Moro,
 322
 ratifies Perpetual Edict, 210
 Philip, Count of Nassau (son of John
 of Nassau), 257
 the Fair (grandfather of Philip II),
 28
 the Good, 7, 125
 Picture Gallery, Antwerp, 325
 Pictures destroyed in Our Lady's
 Church, 78
 Pirenne, H., 41, 61n, 140 n, 221n
 Pius, Bull of, 136
 Placards, 5, 9, 72, 86, 116, 250
 Place Verte, 93, 192, 250
 Plague, in Antwerp, 181
 in England, 39, 41
 Plantin, Christopher (printer), 46, 136,
 152, 204, 326
 printing office of, 127, 176
 tomb of, altar-piece painted by
 Backer, 323
 Plantin-Moretus, printing office of, 325
 Plessis les Tours, treaty of, 251
 Plessis-Mornay, Seigneur de, 247, 262
 Plymouth, 133
 Poitiers, 148
 Polders, 106 and note
 Polwiller, Colonel, 192-3, 196-7, 213
 Polygamy favoured by Anabaptists, 5
 Polyglot Bible (Plantin), 136, 326
 "Pontus Payen," 108n
 Poor Sisters of St. Clara, 243, 253
 cloister of, pillaged, 79
 Poorters, 62-4, 86, 91, 94, 127-8, 200,
 307-8
 Poortership, 13, 35, 38, 44, 79, 137
 Pope, the, 31, 33-4, 51, 72, 136, 139,
 147, 159, 180, 184, 246, 326
 Portsmouth, 162
 Portugal, 57, 154, 157, 161, 236, 250,
 258, 270, 314
 conquest of, by Philip II, 253
 King of, 144-57, 190
 King of, ceases payment of interest,
 19
 portrait of King and Queen of,
 painted by Antonio Moro, 322
 Portuguese, 90-1, 109
 House, 138
 Potterie, Seigneur de la, 248
 Pouillet, Ed., 212n, 224n, 231n, 252n,
 254n, 280n, 313n, 315n
 Pourbus, Franz (portraitist), 321-4
 death of, 324
 Powder-making forbidden, 114
 Prêche (field preaching), 82, 321
 held in Berchem Wood, 59

- "Priests' blood, Papists' goods," 94
 Prince of "The Violet" (Melchior Schetz), 24
 Princess of Orange. *See* Anne of Saxony, Charlotte de Bourbon, Louise de Teligny
 Prince's Street, 109, 133, 202
 "Prince, the," 167n
 Prisoners released from the Steen, 108
 Privy Council, 14, 55, 190, 243, 307
 Procession of the Omgang, 75
 Prohibition, of English imports, 39
 of Netherland imports into England, 40
 Protest against Decrees of Council of Trent, 53
 Protestants, churches of, demolished, 116
 English, 187
 resentment of, against "cloisterlings," 82. *See also* Anabaptists; *also* Calvinists; *also* Lutherans
 Provinces, Netherland, the Seventeen, 1n
 Provost of the Court. *See* Red Rod of Brabant
 Pruen, Christopher, 20
 Puritans, 247
 Puy, Claude du, 315n

 Quarrel with England over treasure ships, 134
 between Elizabeth and Margaret of Parma, 39
 Queenborough, 309

 Rammekens, Castle of, 106, 155, 163
 betrayed to the Beggars, 165
 Ranst, House of, 251
 Martin van, 165, 239
 Rapaille, Philippe, 237
 Recalde, Juan Martinez de, 177
 Recollets. *See* Grey Friars
 Recollets' Canal, 101
 "Red Dragon, the" (Bishop of Arras), 16
 Red Gate, 63, 106-7, 143, 183, 198, 219, 267-8, 304, 318
 cartload of arms discovered at, 73
 "Red Hat, the," 127
 "Red Lion, the" (Antwerp inn), 56-7, 63-4, 72, 100, 144
 Red Rod of Brabant (Marshal of the Court), 104, 126, 146, 183
 "Red Shield, the," 182
 Refuge of the Abbey of Tongerlo, 277
 Regent. *See* Margaret of Parma
 Reiffenberg, Baron de, 54, 67n, 71n
 Reinstatement of parish priest of Kiel, 70
 "Relations Politiques de Pays-Bas," by Kervyn, 21n, 34n, 36, 40, 82n-3, 60, 64n, 93n, 102n, 115n
 Religious Peace, the, 229-30, 234, 241, 254, 259, 317
 the new, 243

 Renaissance, 320
 Renault, Jehan, 105
 Request, the, 57, 61, 140
 in complaint of Placards, 69
 presented to Archduke Matthias, 229
 to Magistrates on behalf of porters, 62
 Requesens, Don Louis de (Grand Commander of Castile), 169-71, 173-87, 189, 191, 194, 216
 death of, 188
 first defeat of, 170
 succeeds Alva, 166
 Reulx, Count de, 130-1
 Rhetoric, Chambers of. *See* Landjewel
 Rhine, 57, 121, 132, 143, 238
 Ricardot (President of the Council of Artois), 301
 Richard, English in Cyprus under, 148
 Ridolfi, 147
 conspiracy, 150, 158
 Rio, Antonio del (Spanish merchant), 57, 131, 138, 183, 204, 216, 224
 portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 323
 Rio, Jeronimo del, 144
 Rimenan, 233-4
 Rinsart, M. de, made Captain of the Guard of Archers under Duke of Anjou, 264
 "Rise of the Dutch Republic," by Motley, 99 and note
 Ritmaster, 92
 Rivage. *See* Oever
 Rizzio, murder of, 57
 Rochelle, La, 131, 145, 149
 Rocheport, Count of, 257
 Rockox, Nicolas, 27
 Roda, Jerome de, 185, 189, 192-200, 204-5, 208, 211
 Roghe, Eustace, 237
 Romanists, the, 322
 Rome, 222
 Romero, Julian, 170, 192, 200-1, 204
 Romerswael, van, 320
 "Rose, the," of Louvain (Chamber of Rhetoric), 26
 "Rose, the," 252, 274
 Rotterdam, 154, 316
 Roubaix, Marquis of, 292
 Rouck, Willem van, 214
 Round Church, the, of the Walloon Calvinists, 89-96
 Royal Exchange, London, 325
 Rozendael, 272
 Rubens, 318n, 321, 324-5
 Rudolph II, 323, 240
 Rue Bervoet, 124
 aux Lits, 63
 des Aveugles, 101
 des Escrimeurs, 124
 des Orfévres. *See* Goldsmiths Street
 des Peignes. *See* Brewers Street
 des Serments, 325
 Nationale, 200
 Terninck, 124

- Rouen, 270
 Rumpst, Lord of, Melchior Schetz, 24
 "Runaway Jacob." *See* Jakobzoon
 Rupelmonde, 242, 274, 277, 283, 326
 Castle of, 193
 Castle of, recaptured by Spaniards, 276
 Ruremonde, 214, 238
 captured by William of Orange, 158
 Ruward of Brabant, William of Orange appointed, 220-1
 Ruyhove, 221
- Saffingen, 284
 Saint Aignan, Count of, 257
 Aldegonde, Marnix de, 178, 237, 243, 247, 251, 254, 261, 264-5, 271-2, 277-82, 285-90, 292-6, 298, 301-8, 310, 313-4
 Andrew's church, 49, 186, 242
 given over to Calvinists, 230
 pillaged, 79
 churchyard, 34
 Anne's Street, 268
 Anthonyshoek, Fort of, 280-1
 recaptured by Justinus, 291
 Bartholomew, massacre of, 158-9, 162, 261, 264, 266-7, 272
 Bernard's Abbey, 7, 72, 107, 139, 186, 193-4, 210, 230, 281
 Abbot of, 120, 252
 demolished, 275
 fortified, 245
 pillaged, 80
 Catherine's, Bridge, 257
 Rampart, 108
 George's Church, 81, 89, 186, 200, 242
 given over to Lutherans, 230, 253
 pillaged, 79
 George, Fort of, 294-6
 George's Gate, 25, 42-3, 56, 59, 63, 67, 88-9, 113, 124, 173, 182, 198, 200, 213, 215, 232, 234, 241, 257, 274, 309
 Germain, Peace of, 145
 Giles' Chapel, 143
 James', Church, 178, 186, 242, 248
 pillaged, 79
 taken over by Calvinists, 253
 Fort of, 294
 Commandership of the Order of, promised to whoever should kill William of Orange, 261
 Luc (mignon to Henry III), 265
 Margaret, Fort of, 274, 276
 Mary, Fort of, 284, 287, 291
 Michael's, Abbey, 7, 45, 61, 73, 95, 108-9, 113, 116, 123-4, 176, 186, 219, 221, 226, 249n, 256, 271, 318
 pillaged, 79
 Abbot of, 117, 243
- Saint Aignan, Count of—*contd.*
 Michael's Abbey—*contd.*
 Abbot of, captured by English mutineers, 241
 Abbot of, made prisoner by Schwarzbourg, 252
 Church of, 200, 223, 234, 253, 255, 260, 262, 267, 269, 274
 Church of, restored to Catholics, 259
 Paul's Church, 49, 149, 230 n
 Philip, Fort of, 284, 287
 Quentin, battle of, 314
 Roch, Brotherhood of, 147
 Sebastian, Altar-piece of, painted by Coxie, 323
 Trond, 66-8, 132
 Walburga, church of, 80, 186, 242, 247
 pillaged, 79
 taken over by Lutherans, 253
 Willebrord's, 285
 Salamanca, college for Netherlanders at, proposed, 141
 Sandwich, 57, 298
 Sardinia, 68, 120
 Sas of Ghent, 313-4
 capture of, by Spaniards, 276
 Savoy, 98, 219
 Duke of, 33
 Saxony, 29
 Ambassadors sent to Margaret of Parma by Elector of, 115. *See also* Anne of Saxony
 Schakerloo, 170
 Scheldt, the, 1, 7, 21, 39, 45, 47, 57, 72, 80, 106, 138, 150, 153-4, 156-7, 159-60, 164-5, 170-1, 177, 180-1, 195, 199, 216, 241, 255, 258, 266, 274, 277, 279-84, 287, 290, 292-5, 297, 305, 310-11, 314-17
 Schelle, 313
 Schelleken, the, 122
 Schetz, Balthasar, 20, 24n
 Conrad, 20
 Erasmus, 18, 24 and note, 67n
 Gaspar (Philip's factor), 19-21, 24 and note, 40, 239
 bribed by Gresham, 21
 Melchior (Lord of Rumpst), 24 and note-5, 28
 Schotelkens (the Gueux), 56
 Schoonhoven, Jan van, 27, 46, 66, 86
 Philip van, 255, 258, 303
 Schooten, 165
 Schootman, Robert, 105
 Schout, the, 10 and note, 58
 Schouwen, island of, 154, 185, 191
 Schuddemate, Peter (schoolmaster), 23
 Schwarzbourg, Countess of, 263
 Count von (brother-in-law to William of Orange), 225-6, 233, 235, 237, 239, 249, 252
 Scots, 210, 224-6, 238-9, 241, 266, 280, 282, 295-7, 299, 306
 Scotland, 38, 154

- Sea-Beggars, the, 134, 139, 144-6, 149-50, 152, 162, 164-5, 179-80, 182, 250, 311, 315. *See also* Beggars; *also* Gueux; *also* Wild-Beggars
- Second Union of Brussels, 224
- Segovia, Forest of, 49-50, 166
- Senate of Venice, 16, 34
- Serbelloni, Gabriel, 123, 137, 142
made Commandant of Antwerp Castle, 124
- Serraerts, Henrik (Lord of Kauwenstein), 279, 317
- Servaes (organist), 253
- Seton, Lord, 147, 150
- Seventeen Provinces, the, 1, 209-10, 219
- Seville, 316
- "Shield of Hainaut, the," 271
- Shoe Market, 63, 139
- Short New Street, 257
- Sicily, 3n, 68
- Sidney, Philip, 255
- Sidonia, Medina, 315-6
- Sieur, Steven le, 305
- Sign of the White Lion, 324
- Silvius, Willem (printer), 25n, 127, 217, 326
- Simple, Captain (Scot), 265
- Skepyn, 11, 106, 121, 251
- Sluis, 40, 157, 233, 236, 278, 283, 314-5
- Smedt, de, 43
- Smissart, Gilles, death of, 202
- Smith, Master John, 148
- Somerset, Duke of, 148
- Sonnus (Bishop of Antwerp), 136, 140, 144, 147, 164, 181, 188, 218
death of, 191
installed in Our Lady's Church, 139
- Southampton, 134
- South Beveland, island of, 154-7, 160
- South Holland, 56
- Southern Provinces, 191, 229, 234, 236, 238, 314
- Soza, Pedro de, drowned in Steen, 15
- Spa, 50, 90, 177
- Spain, 22, 32, 36-8, 50, 57, 61, 67, 92, 97-8, 126, 133, 139-40, 151, 154, 157, 161, 177, 201, 250, 252, 258, 315
peace with England, 117
Queen of, 48
truce with United Provinces, 311
- Spaniards, 73, 90-1, 95, 113, 115, 130-1, 142, 156, 159-64, 170-1, 173-5, 179, 183-4, 188, 195, 199, 205, 207, 212, 224, 230, 236, 238, 245, 254-5, 261, 266, 274, 286-8, 290-4, 297, 299, 308, 310
hatred of, in Antwerp, 125
surrender of Courtray to, 247
take over Malines, 244
- Spanish, Ambassador, 151
Armada, 314-5
Fury, 189 *et seq.*, 207-9, 212-3, 217, 249, 255, 320, 324-5
Inquisition, 51, 58, 253
- Spanish—*contd.*
mutineers, 181, 192
soldiers reintroduced into Antwerp, 14
soldiers, savage conduct of, 167
"Spelen van Sinne," printed by Silvius, 25n-6
- Spelleken (Spelle), 104, 126-8, 136
hanged at Brussels. *See also* Red Rod of Brabant; *see also* Grauwels
- Spinoza, 57
"Spoyle of Antwerp, the," 203n
- Spranger, Bartholomew, 322
- Stabroeck, 282, 286, 293, 310
- Stadtholder, 156, 180
- States-General, 35, 56, 58, 68-9, 71, 81, 87, 99, 136-7, 150, 184, 192, 208, 210-11, 217, 219-20, 223-4, 226, 231-4, 237, 239-46, 248, 250, 253, 269, 271, 278-9, 284, 286-7, 289, 301, 306-7, 314
meetings of, transferred to Holland, 251
treaty with Queen Elizabeth, 225
- States of Brabant, 211, 220, 229, 251, 256, 268, 281-2, 287, 299-300, 307
- Stecken, 287
- Steelsius (printer), 326
- Steen (prison), 10, 18, 29, 33, 44-5, 108, 112, 127, 137, 139, 141-2, 144, 146, 201, 217, 243-4
Anabaptists rescued from, 54
executions in, 15
- Steenbergen, captured by Farnese, 276
- Steenwyck, Henri van (painter of Church interiors), 321-2
- Sterck, Godfrey, 27, 32
- Stivers, value of, 15
- Stockhem, 132
- Stonecutters' Rampart, 203, 223
- Strada, F., 6 and note-7, 60, 84, 97, 140, 153, 159-60, 304
- Straelen, Anthony van (Burgomaster), 24-5, 28, 34, 54, 66, 73, 86, 97, 104, 107, 109, 123, 217, 245, 255
arrested, 121
execution of, 130
- Street of the Twelve Months, 326
- Strozzi, the, 231
"Sun, the," in Brewers Street, 103, 105
- Surrender of Antwerp to Farnese, 307
- Sussex, Earl of, 115-6
- "Swan, the," 105
- Sweepstake on election of Pope, 12
- Sweveghem, de (emissary of Alva), 153
- Sylvanus (Calvinist), 96, 99
- Taffin, Jean, 58, 80-1, 89, 96, 98, 178
- Tanners' Street, 25, 92, 120, 133, 175, 203, 230, 247, 257
- Tanners' Tower, 249n
- Tapestry Pand, 237
- Taxis, Roger de, 97n, 113, 175, 218, 243
sings Mass in Our Lady's Church for first time after the pillaging, 86

- Teligny, Louise de (fourth wife of William of Orange), 272
son of La Noue, 282-3, 286, 308
- Temswicke, peasants slaughtered at, by French, 241
- Tennis in Antwerp, 249n
- Tenth Penny levied, 152-3
- Terceira, 314
- Ter Goes, 47, 155, 160, 164, 170
- Termonde, 92, 158-9, 195, 204, 221, 225-6, 238, 270, 275, 278, 280, 292, 314
captured by Farnese, 282
French Fury succeeds at, 269
- Terneuzen, 163, 277, 289
- Terventen, 281
recaptured by Justinus of Nassau, 291
- Teutonic Order, Grand Master of the, 143
- Texel, the, 179
- Thames, 22
- Thielt, Thomas, 120, 230
- Third Order of St. Francis, 253
nuns of the, 243
- Tholen, island of, 47, 154
- Tholouse, Seigneur de. *See* Marnix, Jean de
- Thomas (surgeon to William of Orange), 263
- Thou, de, 315n
- Throckmorton, Sir Nicolas (English Ambassador at Paris), 33
- Tiepolo, Paulo (Venetian Ambassador at Philip's Court), 16
- Timmerman, Anthony (Dominican priest), 261-2
Peter (engineer), 291, 318
- Tirlemont, captured by William of Orange, 158
seized by Don John, 225
- Titelmann, Peter (the Inquisitor), 13, 32
- Toledo, Fernando de (Grand Prior), 138, 323
- Tollhouse, Fort of, 285, 294
- Tongres, 132
- Torfs, L., 25n, 166
- Torqueau, Peter, of Tournay, 171-2
- Torrentius, Laevinus, 317
succeeds Sonnius as Bishop of Antwerp, 218
- Toul, 166
- Tournay, 13, 33, 47, 50, 58, 70, 97, 102-3, 109, 125, 129, 135, 153, 237, 255
bishopric of, 7
captured by Farnese, 254
rood screen at, made by Cornelis Floris, 324 and note
taken by Noircarmes, 98-9
- Town House, Antwerp, 24, 48, 64, 66, 75, 77, 80, 93-4, 109, 122, 130, 140, 148, 166, 175, 185, 187, 200-2, 207, 226, 240, 247, 255, 258, 261, 263, 271-2, 274, 296, 304, 309, 318, 323-5
- Treaty between States-General and the Duke of Anjou, 271
- Treaty of Hampton Court, 34, 39
- Trent, 41, 49, 51, 53, 79, 117, 121
- Treslong, Bloys de, 106, 190, 288, 291
put into prison, 289
Seigneur de, 211, 214-5
- Triangle. *See* Dryhoek
- Tripoli, 316
- Troubles, Council of. *See* Blood Council
- Truce between Spain and United Provinces, 311
- Tucher, Anthony, 20
Lazarus, 20, 22
- Tudor, Mary, portrait painted by Antonio Moro, 322
death of, 19
- Turkey, 40
- Turks, 55, 125, 139, 159
defeat of, at Lepanto, 149
- Turnhout, 66, 114, 246, 312
- Tyrol, 119
- Union of Arras, 238, 243
of Brussels, 210, 212, 234
confirmed by Philip II, 240
of Delft, 209
of Utrecht, 238, 240, 244-5
Antwerp enters, 244
"United Netherlands, the" 305n
- United Provinces, 316
truce of, with Spain, 311
- Ursel, Launelot van, 66, 148 and note
Reinier van, 32
- Ursula (wife of Perez), 97
- Utrecht, 30, 92, 125, 144, 158, 195, 212, 245, 271, 279, 288
Antwerp enters Union of, 244
bishopric of, 7
Governor of (William of Orange), 30
Lordship of, in
Union of, 238, 245
- Valckenborgh, Lucas van, 322
- Valdes, 207
- Valenciennes, 33, 47, 97, 103, 105, 114, 125, 129, 135, 142-4, 153, 172, 178, 195, 208-9
besieged by Margaret's troops, 107
besieged by Noircarmes, 98-9
seized by La Noue, 156
surrender of, to Margaret, 111
- Valois, 1-2
- Vanderwerke, Master, 257
- Vargas, Alonso de, 131, 192, 200-1, 204
- Varick, Goswyn der (Margrave of Antwerp), 181, 201, 216
- Vassy, massacre at, 28, 30, 33
- Vaucelles, Peace of, 14
- Veere, 155, 159, 165, 274, 280, 289, 309
Fort of, 276
- Venero (Spaniard implicated in attempted murder of William of Orange), 261-2
- Venetian Senate, 16, 34
- Venice, 51, 139, 316

- Verbeek, Joos, 32
 tortured and burned alive, 17
 Verdun, 166
 Verheyden, 86
 Vermeeren. *See* Verbeek
 Vermeulen, Gilles, 203
 Vianen, 56, 92, 103-5
 Victorines, the, 243
 Vienna, 298
 Vierschare (Criminal Court), 4, 10-11,
 16-17, 32, 37, 44, 94, 127, 136, 262
 abolished, 148
 re-established, 169, 177
 Viglius, President, 8n, 14, 40, 53, 116,
 189
 Villers, abbey of, 7
 Villiers, Peter de, 112, 237, 248, 262,
 267
 Vilvoorde, 314
 Castle of, 121, 130, 143
 seized by Spaniards, 194
 surrenders to Farnese, 282
 Vincennes, Wood of, 31
 "Vine, the" (Calvinist Consistory), 58
 "Violet, the" (Chamber of Rhetoric),
 23-4, 122
 member of, beheaded, 23
 Virendeel, Colonel, 267-8
 Vitelli, Ciappin (Marquis of Cetone),
 123, 142, 176, 185 and note, 193,
 217, 226, 246, 254, 264, 275, 323
 Vliebooten. *See* Flibots
 Vos, Jan de, 171-2
 Martin de (pupil of Floris), 321-4
 Voorne, Island of, 153
 Vriendt, de. *See* Floris
 Vries, Hans Vredeman de, 256, 322, 324
- Walcheren, 105-6, 111, 150, 154-5, 157,
 162, 165, 216, 254, 309, 315-6
 Governor of, 297
 in the hands of the Gueux, 170
 Walem, bridge at, destroyed, 195
 Walloon, Calvinists, 89
 Provinces, 62, 209, 229, 235, 243, 298
 Walloons, 45, 50, 70, 83, 94, 100, 104-5,
 107, 109, 113, 115, 127, 130-1, 150,
 156, 159-60, 171, 173-4, 181, 194,
 197-201, 204, 211, 213-4, 236, 243,
 278, 299, 308-9
 as Sea-Beggars, 146
 garrison of, withdrawn, 119
 Walsingham, Sir Francis, 232-4, 236,
 282, 297, 300, 305, 307, 313
 Wapper, the, 89, 96
 War Council, 228, 232, 251
 "War's End, the," 192, 298
 Waterland, 186
 Wauwermans, 287n
 Wavre, on the Dyle, 225
 Weavers Guild, 49
 Weiss, 13n, 18n, 35n, 40n
 Welsers, the, 18-19, 119, 250
 Werve, Simon vander, 216
- Wesel, 265, 298
 Wesenbeke, Jacob van (Pensionary), 9,
 32, 65, 76, 80, 112, 122, 127, 178,
 217
 Westerlo, 264, 275
 captured by Mansfeld, 276
 Western Scheldt, 165
 West Indies, 201
 Westmorland, Earl of, 147
 Westphalia, Treaty of, 311, 316
 Wetteren, 277
 Wharf, 144, 170
 White Sisters, the, 243, 253
 cloister of, pillaged, 79
 Wiele, Michael vander, 182
 execution of, 183
 Wild-(or Wood-) Beggars, 146, 171
 execution of, 146
 Willebroeck, 112, 192, 199, 235, 245-6,
 264, 304
 William, Prince of Orange, 14, 28-35,
 37, 40, 49-51, 54-5, 59, 63-4, 66,
 68-9, 71, 73-4, 76, 79-81, 83, 87-
 91, 93, 97-101, 103-12, 114, 120,
 122, 127-8, 131-3, 140, 144-5,
 149-50, 153-6, 158, 160-2, 164-5,
 167, 171-4, 177-83, 189-91, 193-8,
 201, 207-12, 214-6, 219-27,
 229-44, 247-52, 254-5, 257-8,
 260-5, 267-9, 271-2, 274-5, 277-9,
 281, 287, 290, 293, 313, 323-4
 and Granvelle, breach between, 31
 and his Princess watch the Omgang,
 75
 becomes Dictator of Antwerp, 70
 departs from Antwerp, 112
 goes to Antwerp to take control,
 67
 good-bye letter to Margaret of
 Parma, 114
 invasion of the Provinces by, 131,
 158
 leaves Antwerp for Brussels, 75
 marriages of, 29, 32, 184, 272
 murder of, 279
 offers to resign his offices, 87
 portrait of, by Antonio Moro, 322
 portrait of, by Franz Francken, 323
 Principality of, restored to, by
 Treaty of St. Germain, 145
 proclamation issued against, 127
 refuses to take new Oath of Allegi-
 ance, 112
 retreat of, 158
 return to Antwerp of, 86, 100
 states his intention of resigning all
 his offices, 112
 summoned to Brussels by Margaret
 of Parma, 105
 Williams, Sir Roger, 99, 101, 167, 169,
 226, 236, 309, 314
 William the Silent. *See* William of
 Orange
 Willoughby, 255
 Wilryk, 107, 313
 Wilson, Doctor, 232

- Windsor, Lord, 148, 255
 Withdrawal of Cardinal Granvelle by Philip II, 40
 Wolff, Jan, 45
 "Wonderjaar, the." *See* Year of Wonders
 Wool Street, 48, 108
 World-power aim of Charles and Philip, 3
 Worst, Captain, 157, 279
 Wotton, Dr., incognito at Antwerp, 90
 Wrage, Wouter, 45
 drowned in Steen, 38
 Wyckmasters, 62 and note, 67, 69, 81, 251
 Wyngaerde, Anthony van den (landscape painter), 321
- Year of Confusion, 266
 Year of Wonders, 53
 Young Bachelors, 281-2, 306
 Ypres, 12, 74, 171, 278, 314
 Bishop of, 151-2
 Yselsteyn, Colonel, 296
- Zacarias, 49
 Zantfort, de (widow), 248
- Zealand, 21, 30, 38, 92, 97, 105, 114, 118, 134-5, 140, 150, 153-4, 156-9, 161-2, 166-7, 171-2, 183-4, 186, 195, 208-11, 219, 221, 229, 235, 246, 251, 253, 271-3, 279-82, 284, 286-7, 289-90, 293, 298, 302, 305-6, 311, 314, 316
 Admiral of. *See* Boisot, Louis; *see* Worst; *see* Treslong, B. de
 county of, 1 n
 enters Union of Utrecht, 238
 executions of Calvinists in, 128
 Governor of (William of Orange), 30
 harbours of, captured by French, 255
 sovereignty of, offered to Queen Elizabeth, 184
 State of, 180
 Zealanders, 170, 177, 181, 204, 288, 292, 299, 302
 aptitude of, as sailors, 166
 as Sea-Beggars, 146
 "Zeitalter der Fugger," 209n
 Zichem captured by Mansfeld, 276
 Zierikzee, 12, 154, 157, 185-6, 188, 190, 192, 279
 surrendered to Mondragon, 191
 Zimmerman. *See* Timmerman
 Zutphen, 235, 292, 314
 county of, 1n
 Zwingli, 97

A SELECTION FROM MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS

This Catalogue contains only a selection of the more important books published by Messrs. Methuen. A complete catalogue of their publications may be obtained on application.

- Allcroft (A. Hadrian).** DOWNLAND PATHWAYS. With Preface by E. V. Lucas. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Archer (D.).** CORSICA: THE SCENTED ISLE. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Armstrong (W. W.).** THE ART OF CRICKET. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 3s. net.
- Bain (F. W.)—**
A DIGIT OF THE MOON: A Hindoo Love Story. THE DESCENT OF THE SUN: A Cycle of Birth. A HEIFER OF THE DAWN. IN THE GREAT GOD'S HAIR. A DRAUGHT OF THE BLUE. AN ESSENCE OF THE DUSK. AN INCARNATION OF THE SNOW. A MINE OF FAULTS. THE ASHES OF A GOD. BUBBLES OF THE FOAM. A SYRUP OF THE BEES. THE LIVERY OF EVE. THE SUBSTANCE OF A DREAM. *All Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net. AN ECHO OF THE SPHERES. *Wide Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Baker (C. H. Collins).** CROME. Illustrated. *Quarto.* £5, 5s. net.
- Balfour (Sir Graham).** THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. *Twentieth Edition. In one Volume. Cr. 8vo. Buckram,* 7s. 6d. net.
- Bell (Aubrey F. G.).** A PILGRIM IN SPAIN. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- Belloc (H.)—**
PARIS, 8s. 6d. net. HILLS AND THE SEA, 6s. net. ON NOTHING AND KINDRED SUBJECTS, 6s. net. ON EVERYTHING, 6s. net. ON SOMETHING, 6s. net. FIRST AND LAST, 6s. net. THIS AND THAT AND THE OTHER, 6s. net. ON, 6s. net. ON ANYTHING, 6s. net. MARIE ANTOINETTE, 18s. net. THE PYRENEES, 8s. 6d. net.
- Butler (Kathleen T.).** A HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE. Two Vols. *Each Cr. 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Campbell (Olwen Ward).** SHELLEY AND THE UNROMANTICS. Illustrated. *Second Edition, Revised. Demy 8vo.* 16s. net.
- Chandler (Arthur), D.D.,** late Lord Bishop of Bloemfontein—
ARA CÆLI: An Essay in Mystical Theology, 5s. net. FAITH AND EXPERIENCE, 5s. net. THE CULT OF THE PASSING MOMENT, 6s. net. THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND REUNION, 5s. net. SCALA MUNDI, 4s. 6d. net.
- Chesterton (G. K.)—**
THE BALLAD OF THE WHITE HORSE. ALL THINGS CONSIDERED. TREMENDOUS TRIFLES. ALARMS AND DISCURSIONS. A MISCELLANY OF MEN. THE USES OF DIVERSITY. FANCIES VERSUS FADS. *All Fcap. 8vo.* 6s. net. CHARLES DICKENS. *Fcap. 8vo.* 3s. 6d. net. WINE, WATER, AND SONG. *Fcap. 8vo.* 1s. 6d. net.
- Clutton-Broek (A.)—**
WHAT IS THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN? *Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net. ESSAYS ON ART. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net. ESSAYS ON BOOKS. *Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo.* 6s. net. MORE ESSAYS ON BOOKS. *Fcap. 8vo.* 6s. net. SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net. SHELLEY: THE MAN AND THE POET. *Second Edition, Revised. Fcap. 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Conrad (Joseph).** THE MIRROR OF THE SEA: Memories and Impressions. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo.* 6s. net. Also Uniform Edition, 3s. 6d. net.
- Dark (Sidney) and Grey (Rowland).** W. S. GILBERT: His Life and Letters. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo.* 15s. net.
- Dolls' House (The Queen's).** THE BOOK OF THE QUEEN'S DOLLS' HOUSE. Vol. I. THE QUEEN'S DOLLS' HOUSE. Edited by A. C. BENSON, C.V.O., and SIR LAWRENCE WEAVER, K.B.E. Vol. II. THE QUEEN'S DOLLS' HOUSE LIBRARY. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. Illustrated. A Limited Edition. *Crown 4to.* £6, 6s. net.
- EVERYBODY'S BOOK OF THE QUEEN'S DOLLS' HOUSE.** Illustrated. *Crown 4to.* 5s. net.
- Drever (James)—**
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE. (*Fourth Edition.*) *Cr. 8vo.* 6s. net. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDUSTRY. *Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- Dutt (W. A.).** A GUIDE TO THE NORFOLK BROADS. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 6s. net.
- Edwardes (Tiekner).** THE LORE OF THE HONEY-BEE. *Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Einstein (A.).** RELATIVITY: THE SPECIAL AND THE GENERAL THEORY. Translated by ROBERT W. LAWSON. *Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- SIDELIGHTS ON RELATIVITY.** Two Lectures by ALBERT EINSTEIN. *Cr. 8vo.* 3s. 6d. net.
- THE MEANING OF RELATIVITY.** *Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
Other Books on the Einstein Theory.
- SPACE—TIME—MATTER.** By HERMANN WEYL. *Demy 8vo.* 18s. net.
- THE PRINCIPLE OF RELATIVITY.** By ALBERT EINSTEIN, H. A. LORENTZ, H. MIKOWSKI, and H. WEYL. With notes by A. SOMMERFELD. *Demy 8vo,* 12s. 6d. net.
- RELATIVITY AND THE UNIVERSE.** By HARRY SCHMIDT. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.

- THE THEORY OF RELATIVITY. By Prof. ERWIN FREUNDLICH. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- RELATIVITY FOR ALL. By HERBERT DINGLE. *Third Edition*. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. net.
- Evans (Joan). ENGLISH JEWELLERY. Royal 4to. £2, 12s. 6d. net.
- Fitzgerald (Edward). THE RUBA'IYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM. An edition illustrated by EDMUND J. SULLIVAN. *Wide Cr.* 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Fyleman (Rose)—
 FAIRIES AND CHIMNEYS (*Eighteenth Edition*). THE FAIRY GREEN (*Tenth Edition*). THE FAIRY FLUTE (*Eighth Edition*). THE RAINBOW CAT AND OTHER STORIES (*Second Edition*). FORTY GOOD-NIGHT TALES (*Third Edition*). EIGHT LITTLE PLAYS FOR CHILDREN. All Fcap. 8vo., 3s. 6d. net. A SMALL CRUSE. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net. THE ROSE FYLEMAN FAIRY BOOK. Illustrated. *Crown* 4to. 10s. 6d. net.
- Geering (Thomas). OUR SUSSEX PARISH. With an Introduction and biographical chapter by ARTHUR BECKETT. Illustrated. *Crown* 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Gibbins (H. de B.). INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND: HISTORICAL OUTLINES. With Maps and Plans. *Tenth Edition*. *Demy* 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. With 5 Maps and a Plan. *Twenty-seventh Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 5s.
- Gibbon (Edward). THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Edited, with Notes, Appendices, and Maps, by J. B. BURY. *Seven Volumes*. *Demy* 8vo. Illustrated. Each 12s. 6d. net. Also in *Seven Volumes*. Unillustrated. Cr. 8vo. Each 7s. 6d. net.
- Glover (T. R.)—
 THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 10s. 6d. net. POETS AND PURITANS, 10s. 6d. net. FROM PERICLES TO PHILIP, 10s. 6d. net. VIRGIL, 10s. 6d. net.
- Graham (Harry). THE WORLD WE LAUGH IN: MORE DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. Illustrated by "FISH." *Second Edition*. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Grahame (Kenneth). THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS. *Fourteenth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. Also, Illustrated by NANCY BARNHART. *Small* 4to. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hadfield (J. A.). PSYCHOLOGY AND MORALS: An Analysis of Character. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Hall (H. R.). THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS. Illustrated. *Sixth Edition*, Revised. *Demy* 8vo. 21s. net.
- Hind (A. M.). A CATALOGUE OF REMBRANDT'S ETCHINGS. *Two vols.* Illustrated. *Wide Royal* 8vo. £1, 15s. net.
- Holdsworth (W. S.). A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. *Seven Volumes*. *Demy* 8vo. Each 25s. net.
- Hoppé (E. O.). IN GIPSY CAMP AND ROYAL PALACE: WANDERINGS IN RUMANIA. With a Preface by the QUEEN OF RUMANIA. Illustrated. *Demy* 8vo. 15s. net.
- Hudson (W. H.). A SHEPHERD'S LIFE. Illustrated. *Demy*. 8vo. *Sixth Edition*. 10s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Inge (W. R.). CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM (The Bampton Lectures of 1899). *Fifth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Jenks (E.). AN OUTLINE OF ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *Fifth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1919. *Third Edition*, Revised. *Demy* 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Jones (M. E. Monckton). ANCIENT EGYPT FROM THE RECORDS. Illustrated. *Crown* 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Jullian (Lady) of Norwich. REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE. Edited by GRACE WARRACK. *Eighth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Keats (John). POEMS. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by E. DE SELINCOURT. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Fourth Edition*. *Demy* 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Kidd (Benjamin)—
 THE SCIENCE OF POWER. (*Ninth Edition*). Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. SOCIAL EVOLUTION. *Demy* 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.
- Kipling (Rudyard). BARRACK-ROOM BALLADS. 233rd *Thousand*. Cr. 8vo. *Buckram*, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. *Two Volumes*. *Square Fcap.* 8vo. Each 3s. net.
- THE SEVEN SEAS. 172nd *Thousand*. Cr. 8vo. *Buckram*, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. *Two Volumes*. *Square Fcap.* 8vo. Each 3s. net.
- THE FIVE NATIONS. 138th *Thousand*. Cr. 8vo. *Buckram*, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. *Two Volumes*. *Square Fcap.* 8vo. Each 3s. net.
- DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. 111th *Thousand*. Cr. 8vo. *Buckram*, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. *Two Volumes*. *Square Fcap.* 8vo. Each 3s. net.
- THE YEARS BETWEEN. 95th *Thousand*. Cr. 8vo. *Buckram*, 7s. 6d. net. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. *Two Volumes*. *Square Fcap.* 8vo. Each 3s. net.
- A KIPLING ANTHOLOGY—VERSE. *Third Edition*. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net. Leather, 7s. 6d. net.
- TWENTY POEMS FROM RUDYARD KIPLING. 397th *Thousand*. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.

- Lamb (Charles and Mary). THE COMPLETE WORKS. Edited by E. V. Lucas. A New and Revised Edition in Six Volumes. With Frontispieces. Fcap. 8vo. Each 6s. net.
The volumes are:—
I. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE. II. ELIA AND THE LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA. III. BOOKS FOR CHILDREN. IV. PLAYS AND POEMS. V. and VI. LETTERS.
- Lankester (Sir Ray).—
SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR (Fifteenth Edition). SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR: Second Series (Third Edition). DIVERSIONS OF A NATURALIST (Third Edition). GREAT AND SMALL THINGS. All Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. SECRETS OF EARTH AND SEA (Second Edition). Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.
- Lodge (Sir Oliver). MAN AND THE UNIVERSE. Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- THE SURVIVAL OF MAN: A STUDY IN UNRECOGNIZED HUMAN FACULTY. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- RAYMOND REVISED. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Lorimer (Norma). BY THE WATERS OF EGYPT. Illustrated. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Loring (F. H.). ATOMIC THEORIES. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- THE CHEMICAL ELEMENTS. Demy 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.
- Lucas (E. V.)—
THE LIFE OF CHARLES LAMB, 2 vols., 21s. net. EDWIN AUSTIN ABBEY, R.A. 2 vols. £6, 6s. net. VERMEER OF DELFT, 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER IN HOLLAND, 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER IN LONDON, 10s. 6d. net. LONDON REVISITED, 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER IN PARIS, 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER IN FLORENCE, 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER IN VENICE, 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER AMONG PICTURES. 8s. 6d. net. THE OPEN ROAD: A Little Book for Wayfarers, 6s. net. Also an edition illustrated by Claude A. Shepperson, 10s. 6d. net. Also an edition on India paper, leather, 7s. 6d. net. THE FRIENDLY TOWN: A Little Book for the Urbane, 6s. net. FIRE-SIDE AND SUNSHINE, 6s. net. CHARACTER AND COMEDY, 6s. net. THE GENTLEST ART: A Choice of Letters by Entertaining Hands, 6s. 6d. net. THE SECOND POST, 6s. net. HER INFINITE VARIETY: A Feminine Portrait Gallery, 6s. net. GOOD COMPANY: A Rally of Men, 6s. net. ONE DAY AND ANOTHER, 6s. net. OLD LAMPS FOR NEW, 6s. net. LOITERER'S HARVEST, 6s. net. CLOUD AND SILVER, 6s. net. A BOSWELL OF BAGHDAD, AND OTHER ESSAYS, 6s. net. TWIXT EAGLE AND DOVE, 6s. net. THE PHANTOM JOURNAL, AND OTHER ESSAYS AND DIVERSIONS, 6s. net. GIVING AND RECEIVING, 6s. net. LUCK OF THE YEAR, 6s. net. ENCOUNTERS AND DIVERSIONS, 6s. net. SPECIALLY SELECTED: A Choice of Essays, 7s. 6d. net. URBANITIES. Illustrated by G. L. STAMPA, 7s. 6d. net. YOU KNOW WHAT PEOPLE ARE. 5s. net. THE SAME STAR: A Comedy in Three Acts. 3s. 6d. net. THE BRITISH SCHOOL: An Anecdotal Guide to the British Painters and Paintings in the National Gallery, 6s. net. LITTLE BOOKS ON THE GREAT MASTERS, 5s. net each. ROVING EAST AND ROVING WEST: 5s. net. See also Dolls' House (The Queen's).
- Lynd (Robert). THE BLUE LION and Other Essays. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net.
- THE PEAL OF BELLS. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Masefield (John). ON THE SPANISH MAIN. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.
- A SAILOR'S GARLAND. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net.
- SEA LIFE IN NELSON'S TIME. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Meldrum (D. S.). REMBRANDT'S PAINTINGS. Wide Royal 8vo. £3, 3s. net.
- Methuen (A.). AN ANTHOLOGY OF MODERN VERSE. With Introduction by ROBERT LYND. Seventeenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net. Thin paper, leather, 7s. 6d. net.
- SHAKESPEARE TO HARDY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF ENGLISH LYRICS. With an Introduction by ROBERT LYND. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net. Leather, 7s. 6d. net.
- McDougall (William). AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. Nineteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.
- NATIONAL WELFARE AND NATIONAL DECAY. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHOLOGY. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.
- BODY AND MIND: A HISTORY AND A DEFENCE OF ANIMISM. Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- ETHICS AND SOME MODERN WORLD PROBLEMS. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Maeterlinck (Maurice)—
THE BLUE BIRD: A Fairy Play in Six Acts, 6s. net. Also an edition illustrated by F. Cayley Robinson, 10s. 6d. net. MARY MAGDALENE: A Play in Three Acts, 5s. net. DEATH, 3s. 6d. net. OUR ETERNITY, 6s. net. THE UNKNOWN GUEST, 6s. net. POEMS, 5s. net. THE WRACK OF THE STORM, 6s. net. THE MIRACLE OF ST. ANTHONY: A Play in One Act, 3s. 6d. net. THE BURGOMASTER OF STILEMONDE: A Play in Three Acts, 5s. net. THE BETROTHAL; OR, THE BLUE BIRD CHOOSES, 6s. net. MOUNTAIN PATHS, 6s. net. THE STORY OF TYLTYL, 21s. net. THE GREAT SECRET. 7s. 6d. net. THE CLOUD THAT LIFTED, AND THE POWER OF THE DEAD. 7s. 6d. net.
- Milne (A. A.)—
NOT THAT IT MATTERS. IF I MAY. Each Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net. Also Uniform Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net each. WHEN WE WERE VERY YOUNG. Illustrated by E. H. Shepard. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. Also, Limited Edition, Fcap. 4to., £2, 2s. net.
- Newman (Tom). HOW TO PLAY BILLIARDS. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.
- BILLIARD DO'S AND DONT'S. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

- Oman (Sir Charles). A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES. A.D. 378-1485. *Second Edition, Revised and enlarged. In two volumes. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 36s. net.*
- Oxenham (John)—
 BEES IN AMBER; A Little Book of Thoughtful Verse. *Small Pott 8vo. Stiff Boards. 2s. net.* ALL'S WELL; A Collection of War Poems. THE KING'S HIGH WAY. THE VISION SPLENDID. THE FIERY CROSS. HIGH ALTARS: The Record of a Visit to the Battlefields of France and Flanders. HEARTS COURAGEOUS. ALL CLEAR! *All Small Pott 8vo. Paper, 1s. 3d. net; cloth boards, 2s. net.* WINDS OF THE DAWN. *2s. net.*
- Perry (W. J.)—
 THE ORIGIN OF MAGIC AND RELIGION. THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATION. With Maps. *Each Crown 8vo., 6s. net.* THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN: A STUDY IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. With Maps. *Demy 8vo. 18s. net.*
- Petrie (Sir Filinders). A HISTORY OF EGYPT. Illustrated. *Six Volumes. Cr. 8vo. Each 9s. net.*
 VOL. I. FROM THE 1ST TO THE XVTH DYNASTY. *Eleventh Edition, Revised. (12s. net.)*
 VOL. II. THE XVIIITH AND XVIIIITH DYNASTIES. *Seventh Edition, Revised.*
 VOL. III. XIXTH TO XXXTH DYNASTIES. *Second Edition.*
 VOL. IV. EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. J. P. MAHAFFY. *Second Edition.*
 VOL. V. EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE. J. G. MILNE. *Third Edition, Revised.*
 VOL. VI. EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. STANLEY LANE POOLE. *Third Edition. (10s. net.)*
- SYRIA AND EGYPT, FROM THE TELL EL AMARNA LETTERS. *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- EGYPTIAN TALES. Translated from the Papyri. First Series, 1vth to xiiith Dynasty. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- EGYPTIAN TALES. Translated from the Papyri. Second Series, xviiiith to xixth Dynasty. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Pollitt (Arthur W.). THE ENJOYMENT OF MUSIC. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Ponsonby (Arthur). ENGLISH DIARIES. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 21s. net.*
- Power (Eileen). MEDIEVAL PEOPLE. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 6s. net.*
- Price (L. L.). A SHORT HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN ENGLAND FROM ADAM SMITH TO ARNOLD TOYNBEE. *Twelfth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Selous (Edmund)—
 TOMMY SMITH'S ANIMALS. TOMMY SMITH'S OTHER ANIMALS. TOMMY SMITH AT THE ZOO. TOMMY SMITH AGAIN AT THE ZOO. *Each 2s. 9d.* TOMMY SMITH'S BIRDS, *2s. 6d.* JACK'S INSECTS, *3s. 6d.* JACK'S OTHER INSECTS, *3s. 6d.* All Illustrated.
- Smith (Adam). THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. Edited by EDWIN CANNAN. *Two Volumes. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. £1, 5s. net.*
- Smith (C. Fox).
 SAILOR TOWN DAYS. SEA SONGS AND BALLADS. A BOOK OF FAMOUS SHIPS. SHIP ALLEY: MORE SAILOR TOWN DAYS All Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s. net. each.* THE RETURN OF "THE CUTTY SARK." Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Sommerfeld (Arnold). ATOMIC STRUCTURE AND SPECTRAL LINES. *Demy 8vo. 32s. net.*
- Stevenson (R. L.). THE LETTERS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. Edited by SIR SIDNEY COLVIN. *A New Rearranged Edition in four volumes. Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Each 6s. net.*
- Surtees (R. S.)—
 HANDLEY CROSS, *7s. 6d. net.* MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR, *7s. 6d. net.* ASK MAMMA: or, The Richest Commoner in England, *7s. 6d. net.* JORROCKS'S JAUNTS AND JOLLITIES, *6s. net.* MR. FACEY ROMFORD'S HOUNDS, *7s. 6d. net.* HAWBUCK GRANGE; or, The Sporting Adventures of Thomas Scott, Esq., *6s. net.* PLAIN OR RINGLETS? *7s. 6d. net.* HILLINGTON HALL, *7s. 6d. net.*
- Taichell (Frank). THE HAPPY TRAVELLER: A BOOK FOR POOR MEN. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Thomson (J. Arthur). WHAT IS MAN? *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.*
- SCIENCE AND RELIGION. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Tilden (W. T.)—
 THE ART OF LAWN TENNIS (*Sixth Edition*). SINGLES AND DOUBLES (*Second Edition*). *Each Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.* THE COMMON SENSE OF LAWN TENNIS. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Tilston (Mary W.). DAILY STRENGTH FOR DAILY NEEDS. *Twenty-ninth Edition. Medium 16mo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Underhill (Evelyn). MYSTICISM. A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness. *Tenth Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*
- THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT AND THE LIFE OF TO-DAY. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Vardon (Harry). HOW TO PLAY GOLF. Illustrated. *Eighteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Waterhouse (Elizabeth). A LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AND DEATH. *Twenty-second Edition. Small Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Wegener (A.). THE ORIGIN OF CONTINENTS AND OCEANS. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Wells (J.). A SHORT HISTORY OF ROME. *Nineteenth Edition. With 3 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 5s.*
- Wilde (Oscar). THE WORKS OF OSCAR WILDE. *Fcap. 8vo. Each 6s. 6d. net.*

I. LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME AND THE PORTRAIT OF MR. W. H. II. THE DUCHESS OF PADUA. III. POEMS. IV. LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN. V. A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE. VI. AN IDEAL HUSBAND. VII. THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST. VIII. A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES. IX. INTENTIONS. X. DE PROFUNDIS AND PRISON LETTERS. XI. ES-

SAYS. XII. SALOME, A FLORENTINE TRAGEDY, and LA SAINTE COURTISEANE. XIII. A CRITIC IN PALL MALL. XIV. SELECTED PROSE OF OSCAR WILDE. XV. ART AND DECORATION. XVI. FOR LOVE OF THE KING: A Burmese Masque (5s. net.). Yeats (W. B.). A BOOK OF IRISH VERSE. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. net.

PART II.—A SELECTION OF SERIES
The Antiquary's Books

Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net each volume. With Numerous Illustrations

ANCIENT PAINTED GLASS IN ENGLAND. ARCHAEOLOGY AND FALSE ANTIQUITIES. THE BELLS OF ENGLAND. THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND. THE CASTLES AND WALLED TOWNS OF ENGLAND. CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS. THE DOMESDAY INQUEST. ENGLISH CHURCH FURNITURE. ENGLISH MONASTIC LIFE. ENGLISH SEALS. FOLK-LORE AS AN HISTORICAL SCIENCE. THE GUILDS AND COMPANIES OF LONDON. THE HERMITS AND ANCHORITES OF ENGLAND. THE MANOR AND MANORIAL RECORDS. THE MEDIEVAL

HOSPITALS OF ENGLAND. OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC. OLD ENGLISH LIBRARIES. OLD SERVICE BOOKS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. PARISH LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. THE PARISH REGISTERS OF ENGLAND. REMAINS OF THE PREHISTORIC AGE IN ENGLAND. THE ROMAN ERA IN BRITAIN. ROMANO-BRITISH BUILDINGS AND EARTHWORKS. THE ROYAL FORESTS OF ENGLAND. THE SCHOOLS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. SHRINES OF BRITISH SAINTS.

The Arden Shakespeare

General Editor, R. H. CASE

Wide Demy 8vo. 6s. net each volume

An edition of Shakespeare in Single Plays; each edited with a full Introduction, Textual Notes, and a Commentary at the foot of the page.

The Arden Shakespeare has now been completed by the publication of MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING. Edited by GRACE R. TRENER.

Classics of Art

Edited by DR. J. H. W. LAING

With numerous Illustrations. Wide Royal 8vo.

THE ART OF THE GREEKS, 21s. net. THE ART OF THE ROMANS, 16s. net. SANDRO BOTTICELLI, 31s. 6d. net. CHARDIN, 15s. net. DONATELLO, 16s. net. FLORENTINE SCULPTORS OF THE RENAISSANCE, 21s. net. GEORGE ROMNEY, 15s. net. GHIRLANDAIO, 15s. net.

LAWRENCE, 25s. net. MICHELANGELO, 21s. net. RAPHAEL, 15s. net. REMBRANDT'S PAINTINGS, 63s. net. RUBENS, 30s. net. TINTORETTO, 16s. net. TITIAN, 16s. net. TURNER'S SKETCHES AND DRAWINGS, 15s. net. VELASQUEZ, 15s. net.

The "Complete" Series

Fully Illustrated. Demy 8vo

THE COMPLETE AIRMAN, 16s. net. THE COMPLETE AMATEUR BOXER, 10s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE ATHLETIC TRAINER, 10s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE BILLIARD PLAYER, 10s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE COOK, 10s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE FOXHUNTER, 16s. net. THE COMPLETE GOLFER, 12s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE HOCKEY PLAYER, 10s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE HORSEMAN, 15s. net. THE COMPLETE JUJITSUAN. (Cr. 8vo.) 5s. net. THE COMPLETE LAWN TENNIS

PLAYER, 12s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE MOTORIST, 10s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE MOUNTAINEER, 18s. net. THE COMPLETE OARSMAN, 12s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE PHOTOGRAPHER, 12s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE RUGBY FOOTBALLER, ON THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM, 12s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE SHOT, 16s. net. THE COMPLETE SWIMMER, 10s. 6d. net. THE COMPLETE YACHTSMAN, 15s. net.

The Connoisseur's Library

With numerous Illustrations. Wide Royal 8vo. £1, 11s. 6d. net each volume

ENGLISH COLOURED BOOKS. ETCHINGS.	IVORIES. JEWELLERY. MEZZOTINTS.
EUROPEAN ENAMELS. FINE BOOKS.	MINIATURES. PORCELAIN. SEALS. WOOD
GLASS. GOLDSMITHS' AND SILVERSMITHS' WORK.	SCULPTURE.
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS.	

Health Series

Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each volume

THE BABY. THE CARE OF THE BODY. THE CARE OF THE TEETH. THE EYES OF OUR CHILDREN. HEALTH FOR THE MIDDLE-AGED. THE HEALTH OF A WOMAN. THE HEALTH OF THE SKIN. HOW TO LIVE	LONG. THE PREVENTION OF THE COMMON COLD. STAYING THE PLAGUE. THROAT AND EAR TROUBLES. TUBERCULOSIS. THE HEALTH OF THE CHILD, 2s. net.
---	---

The Library of Devotion

Handy Editions of the great Devotional Books, well edited

With Introductions and (where necessary) Notes

Small Pott 8vo, cloth, 3s. net and 3s. 6d. net

Little Books on Art

With many Illustrations. Demy 16mo. 5s. net each volume

Each volume consists of about 200 pages, and contains from 30 to 40

Illustrations, including a Frontispiece in Photogravure

ALBRECHT DÜRER. THE ARTS OF JAPAN. BOOKPLATES. BOTTICELLI. BURNE-JONES. CELLINI. CHRIST IN ART. CLAUDE. CONSTABLE. COROT. EARLY ENGLISH WATER-COLOUR. ENAMELS. FREDERIC LEIGHTON. GEORGE ROMNEY. GREEK ART. GREUZE	AND BOUCHER. HOLBEIN. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS. JEWELLERY. JOHN HOPNER. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. MILLET. MINIATURES. OUR LADY IN ART. RAPHAEL. RODIN. TURNER. VANDYCK. WATTS.
--	--

The Little Guides

With many Illustrations by E. H. NEW and other artists, and from photographs, Maps and Plans

Small Pott 8vo. 4s. net to 7s. 6d. net each

Guides to the English and Welsh Counties, and some well-known districts.

The main features of these Guides are (1) a handy and charming form; (2) illustrations from photographs and by well-known artists; (3) good plans and maps; (4) an adequate but compact presentation of everything that is interesting in the natural features, history, archæology, and architecture of the town or district treated.

Plays

Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net each

MILESTONES. Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblock. <i>Eleventh Edition.</i>	THE GREAT ADVENTURE. Arnold Bennett. <i>Fifth Edition.</i>
AN IDEAL HUSBAND. Oscar Wilde. <i>Acting Edition.</i>	GENERAL POST. J. E. Harold Terry. <i>Second Edition.</i>
KISMET. Edward Knoblock. <i>Fourth Edition.</i>	THE HONEYMOON. Arnold Bennett. <i>Third Edition.</i>
THE WARE CASE. George Pleydell.	
THE SAME STAR. E. V. Lucas.	

Sport Series

Mostly illustrated. Fcap. 8vo

- ALL ABOUT FLYING, 3s. net. ALPINE SKIING AT ALL HEIGHTS AND SEASONS, 5s. net. SKIING FOR BEGINNERS, 5s. net. GOLF DO'S AND DONT'S, 2s. net. QUICK CUTS TO GOOD GOLF, 2s. net. INSPIRED GOLF, 2s. 6d. net. DRIVING, APPROACHING, PUTTING, 2s. net. GOLF CLUBS AND HOW TO USE THEM, 2s. net. THE SECRET OF GOLF FOR OCCASIONAL PLAYERS, 2s. net. THE GOLFING SWING, 2s. 6d. net. GOLF RULES AND DECISIONS. 3s. 6d. net. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CADDY-BAG, 2s. 6d. net. LAWN TENNIS, 2s. 6d. net. LAWN TENNIS DO'S AND DONT'S, 2s. 6d. net. LAWN TENNIS FOR YOUNG PLAYERS, 2s. 6d. net. LAWN TENNIS FOR CLUB PLAYERS, 2s. 6d. net. LAWN TENNIS FOR MATCH PLAYERS, 2s. 6d. net. LAWN TENNIS FOR PUBLIC COURTS PLAYERS, 2s. 6d. net. THE TECHNIQUE OF LAWN TENNIS, 2s. 6d. net. THE LAWN TENNIS UMPIRE AND REFEREE, 2s. 6d. net. HOCKEY, 4s. net. HOW TO SWIM, 2s. net. PUNTING, 3s. 6d. net. SKATING, 3s. net. WRESTLING, 2s. net. MOTOR DO'S AND DONT'S, 2s. 6d. net. MAH JONG DO'S AND DONT'S, 2s. net. AUCTION BRIDGE DO'S AND DONT'S. 3s. net. BILLIARD DO'S AND DONT'S. 2s. 6d. net.

Methuen's Half-Crown Library

Crown 8vo.

Cheap Editions of Popular Books

Methuen's Two-Shilling Library

*Fcap. 8vo.**Write for Complete Lists*

PART III.—A SELECTION OF WORKS OF FICTION

- Bennett (Arnold)**—
CLAYHANGER, 8s. net. HILDA LESSWAYS, 8s. 6d. net. THESE TWIN. THE CARD. THE REGENT: A FIVE TOWNS STORY OF ADVENTURE IN LONDON. THE PRICE OF LOVE. BURIED ALIVE. A MAN FROM THE NORTH. WHOM GOD HATH JOINED. A GREAT MAN: A FROLIC. MR. PROHACK. All 7s. 6d. net. THE MATADOR OF THE FIVE TOWNS, 6s. net.
- Birmingham (George A.)**—
SPANISH GOLD. THE SEARCH PARTY. THE BAD TIMES. UP, THE REBELS! THE LOST LAWYER. THE GREAT-GRANDMOTHER. FOUND MONEY. All 7s. 6d. net. INISHEENY, 8s. 6d. net.
- Brandon (John G.)**—THE BIG HEART. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Burroughs (Edgar Rice)**—
THE RETURN OF TARZAN, 6s. net. THE BEASTS OF TARZAN, 6s. net. THE SON OF TARZAN, 6s. net. JUNGLE TALES OF TARZAN, 6s. net. TARZAN AND THE JEWELS OF OPAR, 6s. net. TARZAN THE UNTAMED, 7s. 6d. net. TARZAN AND THE GOLDEN LION, 3s. 6d. net. A PRINCESS OF MARS, 6s. net. THE GODS OF MARS, 6s. net. THE WARLORD OF MARS, 6s. net. THUVIA, MAID OF MARS, 6s. net. TARZAN THE TERRIBLE, 2s. 6d. net. THE MUCKER, 6s. net. THE MAN WITHOUT A SOUL, 6s. net. THE CHESSMEN OF MARS, 7s. 6d. net. AT THE EARTH'S CORE, 7s. 6d. net.
- net. PELLUCIDAR, 7s. 6d. net. THE GIRL FROM HOLLYWOOD, 7s. 6d. net.
- Conrad (Joseph)**—
A SET OF SIX, 7s. 6d. net. VICTORY: AN ISLAND TALE. THE SECRET AGENT: A SIMPLE TALE. UNDER WESTERN EYES. CHANCE. All 9s. net. Also Uniform Edition. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net each.*
- Corell (Marie)**—
A ROMANCE OF TWO WORLDS, 7s. 6d. net. VENDETTA: OR, THE STORY OF ONE FORGOTTEN, 7s. 6d. net. THELMA: A NORWEGIAN PRINCESS, 7s. 6d. net. ARDATH: THE STORY OF A DEAD SELF, 7s. 6d. net. THE SOUL OF LILITH, 7s. 6d. net. WORMWOOD: A DRAMA OF PARIS, 7s. 6d. net. BARABBAS: A DREAM OF THE WORLD'S TRAGEDY, 7s. 6d. net. THE SORROWS OF SATAN, 7s. 6d. net. THE MASTER-CHRISTIAN, 7s. 6d. net. TEMPORAL POWER: A STUDY IN SUPREMACY, 6s. net. GOD'S GOOD MAN: A SIMPLE LOVE STORY, 7s. 6d. net. HOLY ORDERS: THE TRAGEDY OF A QUIET LIFE, 8s. 6d. net. THE MIGHTY ATOM, 7s. 6d. net. BOY: A SKETCH, 7s. 6d. net. CAMEOS, 6s. net. THE LIFE EVERLASTING. 8s. 6d. net. THE LOVE OF LONG AGO, AND OTHER STORIES, 7s. 6d. net. INNOCENT, 7s. 6d. net. THE SECRET POWER: A ROMANCE OF THE TIME, 6s. net. LOVE—AND THE PHILOSOPHER: A STUDY IN SENTIMENT, 6s. net. Also Uniform Edition. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net each.*

Hitchens (Robert)—

FELIX: Three Years in a Life, 7s. 6d. net.
 THE WOMAN WITH THE FAN, 7s. 6d. net.
 THE GARDEN OF ALLAH, 8s. 6d. net. THE
 CALL OF THE BLOOD, 8s. 6d. net. THE
 DWELLER ON THE THRESHOLD, 7s. 6d.
 net. THE WAY OF AMBITION, 7s. 6d. net.
 IN THE WILDERNESS, 7s. 6d. net. AFTER
 THE VERDICT, 7s. 6d. net.

Hope (Anthony)—

A CHANGE OF AIR. A MAN OF MARK.
 SIMON DALE. THE KING'S MIRROR.
 THE DOLLY DIALOGUES. MRS. MAXON
 PROTESTS. A YOUNG MAN'S YEAR.
 BEAUMARVOY HOME FROM THE WARS.
 All 7s. 6d. net.

Jacobs (W. W.)—

MANY CARGOES, 5s. net. SEA URCHINS, 5s.
 net and 3s. 6d. net. A MASTER OF CRAFT,
 6s. net. LIGHT FREIGHTS, 6s. net. THE
 SKIPPER'S WOOING, 5s. net. AT SUN-
 WICH PORT, 5s. net. DIALSTONE LANE,
 5s. net. ODD CRAFT, 5s. net. THE LADY
 OF THE BARGE, 5s. net. SALTHAVEN, 6s.
 net. SAILORS' KNOTS, 5s. net. SHORT
 CRUISES, 6s. net.

Knox (R. A.)—

MEMORIES OF THE FUTURE. 7s. 6d. net.
 SANCTIONS: A FRIVOLITY. 7s. 6d. net.

London (Jack)—WHITE FANG. *Nineteenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.**Lucas (E. V.)**—

LISTENER'S LURE: An Oblique Narration,
 6s. net. OVER BEMERTON'S: An Easy-
 going Chronicle, 6s. net. MR. INGLESIDE,
 6s. net. LONDON LAVENDER, 6s. net.
 LANDMARKS, 6s. net. THE VERMILION
 BOX, 6s. net. VERENA IN THE MIDST,
 8s. 6d. net. ROSE AND ROSE, 6s. net.
 GENEVRA'S MONEY, 7s. 6d. net. ADVISORY
 BEN, 7s. 6d. net.

McKenna (Stephen)—

SONIA: Between Two Worlds, 8s. net.
 NINETY-SIX HOURS' LEAVE, 7s. 6d. net.
 THE SIXTH SENSE, 6s. net. MIDAS & SON,
 8s. net.

Malet (Lucas)—

THE HISTORY OF SIR RICHARD CALMADY:
 A Romance. 10s. net. THE CARISSIMA.
 THE GATELESS BARRIER. DEADHAM
 HARD. COLONEL ENDERBY'S WIFE, All
 7s. 6d. net. THE WAGES OF SIN. 8s. net.

Mason (A. E. W.). CLEMENTINA. Illustrated. *Ninth Edition.* 7s. 6d. net.**Milne (A. A.)**—

THE DAY'S PLAY. THE HOLIDAY ROUND.
 ONCE A WEEK. All 7s. 6d. net. THE
 SUNNY SIDE. 6s. net. Also Uniform Edi-
 tion. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net each. THE
 RED HOUSE MYSTERY. 6s. net.

Oxenham (John)—

THE QUEST OF THE GOLDEN ROSE. MARY
 ALL-ALONE. 7s. 6d. net.

Parker (Gilbert)—

THE TRANSLATION OF A SAVAGE. WHEN
 VALMOND CAME TO PONTIAC: The Story of
 a Lost Napoleon. AN ADVENTURER OF THE
 NORTH: The Last Adventures of "Pretty
 Pierre." THE SEATS OF THE MIGHTY. THE
 BATTLE OF THE STRONG: A Romance of Two
 Kingdoms. THE TRAIL OF THE SWORD.
 NORTHERN LIGHTS. All 7s. 6d. net. THE
 JUDGMENT HOUSE. 3s. 6d. net.

Phillpotts (Eden)—

CHILDREN OF THE MIST. THE RIVER.
 THE HUMAN BOY AND THE WAR. All
 7s. 6d. net.

Richmond (Grace S.)—

FOUR SQUARE. A COURT OF INQUIRY.
 RUFUS. All 7s. 6d. net.

Rohmer (Sax)—

THE GOLDEN SCORPION. 7s. 6d. net. THE
 DEVIL DOCTOR. THE MYSTERY OF DR.
 FU-MANCHU. THE YELLOW CLAW. All
 3s. 6d. net.

Swinnerton (F.). SHOPS AND HOUSES.
 SEPTEMBER. THE HAPPY FAMILY. ON
 THE STAIRCASE. COQUETTE. THE CHASTE
 WIFE. THE THREE LOVERS. All 7s. 6d.
 net. THE MERRY HEART. THE CASEMENT.
 THE YOUNG IDEA. All 6s. net.

Wells (H. G.). BEALBY. *Fourth Edition.*
 Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Williamson (Mrs. C. N.). NAME THE
 WOMAN. *Crown 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.

Williamson (C. N. and A. M.)—

THE LIGHTNING CONDUCTOR: The Strange
 Adventures of a Motor-Car. LADY BETTY
 ACROSS THE WATER. IT HAPPENED IN
 EGYPT. THE SHOP GIRL. MY FRIEND
 THE CHAUFFEUR. SET IN SILVER. THE
 GREAT PEARL SECRET. All 7s. 6d. net.
 CRUCIFIX CORNER. 6s. net.

Wodehouse (P. G.). BILL THE CON-
 QUEROR. *Crown 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.

Methuen's Half-Crown Novels*Crown 8vo.*

Cheap Editions of many of the most Popular Novels of the day

Methuen's Two-Shilling Novels*Fcap. 8vo.*

Write for Complete Lists

Date Due

DEC 1 1991	APR 15 1992
NOV 21 1991	AUG 28 1992
JAN 24 1992 <i>Rec'd Feb. 2</i>	
FEB 11 1992	
JAN 31 1992	

DH811 .A6W4
Wegg, Jervis.
The decline of Antwerp under
Philip of Spain.

DATE	ISSUED TO
	296377

296377

Cruybeke





0 1163 0212428 8

TRENT UNIVERSITY

